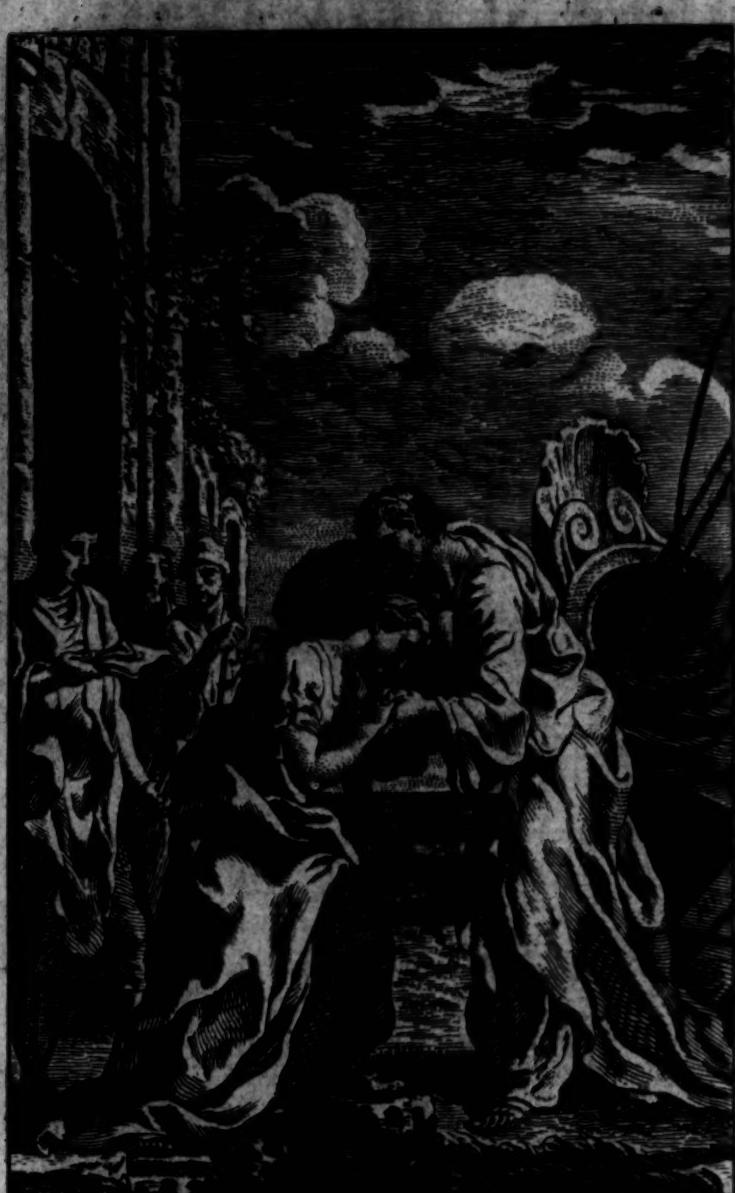


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CICERO in his Exile meeting his
Daughter TULLIA at Brundusium.

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THE
ROMAN HISTORY
FROM THE
FOUNDATION of ROME
TO THE
BATTLE of ACTIUM:
THAT IS,
To the END of the COMMONWEALTH.

By Mr. C R E V I E R,
Professor of RHETORICK in the College of BEAUVAIS,
Being the CONTINUATION of Mr. ROLLIN's Work.

Translated from the FRENCH.

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MDCCLXVIII.

A. H. T.

УДОСТІНЧАМОЯ

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JULY 1971

BATTLES ACTIVITIES



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Следует отметить, что в Китае имеется ряд больших
горнодобывающих и перерабатывающих предприятий, в том
числе и золотодобывающих, что делает Китай одним из
самых крупных производителей золота в мире.

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THE

THE
ROMAN HISTORY,
FROM THE
FOUNDATION of ROME
TO THE
BATTLE of ACTIUM,

BOOK THE THIRTY-EIGHTH.

DOMESTIC troubles. The first Triumvirate, or league between Cæsar, Pompey and Crassus. The factious and tyrannical behaviour of Cæsar during his Consulship. Years of Rome 690-693.

S E C T. I.

Cæsar Prætor. Cato Tribune. A comparison between them, by Sallust. Cæsar Sovereign Pontiff. He endeavours to give Catulus trouble on account of rebuilding the Capitol, but to no purpose. He is again impeached by Curius and Vettius, as an accomplice in Catiline's conspiracy. Several are condemned on the accusation of Vettius. Vettius renders himself suspected. The Tribune

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bune Metellus Nepos attacks Cicero, and is checked by the Senate. The same Tribune, supported by Cæsar, proposes a law to recall Pompey with his army into Italy, to reform and pacify the State. Cato demanded the Tribunitian dignity, merely with a view of opposing the turbulent designs of Metellus. A mean, which he imagined would weaken the power of Cæsar. He resists the law of Metellus, with a constancy that was almost a prodigy. The Consul Murena rescues Cato from danger. The enterprize of Metellus fails. Metellus and Cæsar are forbid, by the Senate, to exercise the functions of their employments. Cæsar submits, and is re-established. Cato obtains the same favour for Metellus. What part Cicero took in this whole affair. Pompey repudiates Mucia. The triumph of Q. Metellus Crassus. The election of Consuls for the year following. The character of Clodius. He profanes the mysteries of the Good Goddess. Instructions for the process against him. Cicero deposes against him. The Judges suffer themselves to be corrupted. Clodius is absolved. Cicero re-animates the courage of good men, whom this judgment had dismayed. Pompey, on his arrival in Italy, disbands his troops. Cicero endeavours to engage Pompey to explain himself favourably on his Consulship. The equivocal conduct of Pompey. Pompey buys the Consulship for Afranius. A fruitless attempt of Pompey to gain over Cato. Indians drove by a tempest on the coasts of Germany. The third triumph of Pompey.

A. R. 690.
Ant. C.
62.

D. JUNIUS SILANUS.
L. LICINIUS MURENA.

CÆSAR and Cato, this year, found themselves both employed, one as Prætor, the other as Tribune: and the difference there was in their characters and principles, which had already, more than once, created misunderstandings between them, particularly in the debate upon punishing the Conspirators, carried them, at the time I am now speaking of, into a most violent dissension, which could not in its

con-

consequences but more and more increase. Never were two men with great talents more opposite to one another in maxims and conduct. Sallust has compared them, but in such a manner, as shewed he had a mind to flatter the picture of Cæsar.

" They were very near equals, says that Historian *, in birth, age, eloquence: alike in greatness of soul, equal in glory, but of very different kinds. Cæsar had acquired a great name, by his generosity and magnificence; Cato by his unblameable manners. One was admired for the sweetness of his temper, and his clemency; the other for his severity. Cæsar had gained a shining character, by making large presents, by protecting those who fled to him for succour, and by shewing himself always ready to forgive; Cato by never shewing any favour. One was the resource of the unhappy, the other the scourge of the wicked. The easiness of the first was commended, and the constancy of the second. In short, Cæsar had made it a rule with him to spare neither care or pains: taken up with the interests of his friends, he neglected his own. He never missed an occasion to gratify and oblige whom he might. He wished for some distinguished post; a command in the army, a new war, where his merit might appear to advantage. Cato, on the other hand, shewed himself a lover of modesty, an observer of decency, and, above all, of severity. He did not endeavour to excel the rich in their wealth;

* His genus, ætas, eloquentia, prope æqualia fuere: magnitudo animi par, item gloria, sed alia alii. Cæsar beneficiis ac munificentia magnus habebatur, integritate vita Cato. Ille mansuetudine & misericordia clarus factus: huic severitas/dignitatem addiderat: Cæsar dando, sublevando, ignoscendo; Cato nihil largiundo gloriam adeptus est. In altero miseris perfugium, in altero malis pernicies. Illius facilitas, hujus constantia laudabatur. Postremò Cæsar in animum induxerat vigilare, laborare; negotiis amicorum contentus sua negligere; nihil denegare, quod dono dignum esset: sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, bellum novum exoptabat, ubi virtus eritescere posset. At Catoni studium modestiae, decoris, sed maxime severitas erat. Non divitiis cum divite, neque factione cum factioso; sed cum strenuo virtute, cum modesto pudore, cum innocentia abstinentia certabat: esse, quam videri, bonus malebat: ita, quod minus gloriam petebat, eò magis adsequebatur. SALL. Cat.

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R. 690. nor the factious in the spirit of faction and cabal; but
Ant. C.
62. he contended for magnanimity with the most courageous, for modesty with the most reserved, and with the most irreproachable for disinterestedness and integrity: he sought more to be an honest man, than to appear so; and by his conduct, the less he ran after glory, the more he seemed to look for it."

Nothing is juster than the idea that Sallust here gives of Cato. But with regard to Cæsar, he ought to have drawn him, as he promised, according * to the best that his genius would allow him. He shews only the superficial part of Cæsar's conduct, without penetrating into the principles upon which he acted. To have finished his picture he ought to have said, that Cæsar made every thing subservient to his own advancement; that he thought nothing sacred that stood in the way of his ambition; that to him virtue was only a name, the public good a chimera: that never any one, with less scruple, trampled under foot, all that are called laws, honesty, religion and principles: In a word, if no man was ever more amiable in conversation, there never was one with a heart more corrupt in its morals, nor a citizen more dangerous to the State. What I have here advanced concerning Cæsar, is already proved, in part, by the facts that I have related, and will be more and more so as his projects are laid open.

He added much the year before to the figure he already made, by the dignity of sovereign Pontiff, which he obtained from the People. This place, sole and perpetual, which puts the person who is invested with it at the head of all religion, and of all the colleges of Priests, and the authority of which is so great, that all the Emperors from the time of Augustus took it upon themselves, excluding all private persons from it, this place was the object of the ambition of the first citizens of the Commonwealth. It
Dio. I.
xxxvii.
Plut. Cæf.
Suet. Cæf.
e. 13. was just become vacant by the death of Metellus Pius.

* Quantum ingenio possem.

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Servilius Isauricus and Catulus, both of consular dignity, and very powerful in the Senate, were prepared to ask for it; but the authority of these two competitors so redoubtable, did not hinder Cæsar from putting in for it, who had never possessed any other curule employment but the ædileship, and he soon gave a brisk alarm to his opponents. Catulus, who feared the affront of a denial the more, as he was more exalted in his dignity, offered him a very considerable sum of money, if he would desist from his pretensions: but Cæsar answered him, that he would expend a much larger sum himself to succeed in his design. In short, he made such prodigious largesses, and distributed so much money among the Tribes, that he had been lost without resource, and must have banished himself from Rome, if his enterprize had failed. This he declared himself to his mother on the day of the election. For when she embraced him, with tears in her eyes at the time he appeared in the Forum. " My mother," said he, " you will this day see your son either sovereign Pontiff or a fugitive." He was very far from being in danger of the last, for he carried his point with so high a hand against the other candidates, that he had more suffrages in their own Tribes than they had in all the Tribes put together.

A. R. 699.
Ant. C.
62.

I have related how Catulus went about to revenge himself on Cæsar, by endeavouring to involve him in the affair of the conspiracy. Cæsar was not long before he turned the tables upon him; and after the first of January, when he entered upon the exercise of the Prætorship, he undertook to cite him before the People, and to oblige him to give an account of the money that had passed through his hands for rebuilding the Capitol, with which he was intrusted, as I have said in its place. He pretended that Catulus had misapplied a part of this money to his own use, and in consequence demanded, that his name should be erased from the frontispiece of the temple; and that the super-intendance of that great edifice, and the care of finishing what was yet to be done, should be

A.R. 690. transferred to Pompey. Cæsar had taken his time to move this affair while the chief members of the Senate were in the train of the new Consuls, and assisting them to take possession of the Capitol. The news of what had passed coming to Catulus, he ran to the Forum to defend himself, and prepared to mount the Tribunal: but Cæsar, not fearing to outrage so illustrious a person, ordered him to stay below, as one accused of a crime. In the mean time the Senators, leaving the ceremony of the Capitol, came and ranged themselves about Catulus, and they so resolutely opposed the injustice that was going to be done to one of the principal ornaments of their order, that Cæsar was obliged to abandon his design.

He found himself, in his turn, not a little embarrassed. The suspicions, of which he had never well purged himself, on account of the part he might have had in Catiline's conspiracy, were renewed. Q. Curius, he who had given so much and so good advice to Cicero, named Cæsar, in full Senate, among the accomplices. A new accuser, Q. Vettius, a Roman Knight, by whom several of the culpable had been discovered, impeached him also to Novius Niger the Quæstor, who, it is very likely, was charged with receiving the deposition of this Vettius.

Suet. Cæs. 17. Cæsar talked in a high tone. He said it was mean and insupportable to have those accusations renewed, which he pretended were out of date and already overthrown. He called upon the testimony of Cicero, to whom he affirmed, that he had given lights concerning the conspiracy: and complained with great warmth, that Curius had been deprived of those rewards that had been promised him by the Senate. As to Vettius, Cæsar did himself justice on him. He condemned that informer to a fine, which, according to the custom of the Romans, he would have forced him to give security for the payment of, and for want of that, caused his goods to be sold by outcry. Not content with this, he turned him over to the People, and after having exposed him to the fury of the multitude,

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titude, who were going to tear him to pieces, he had him thrown into prison. He also sent the Quæstor Niger to the same place, for failing in the respect that was due to him, and receiving an information against a Magistrate his superior. We shall find Cæsar, in his Consulship, producing this same Vettius to act a quite different part.

A. R. 690.
Ant. Q.
62.

At the time I am speaking of, Vettius rendered a very good service to the Commonwealth, by facilitating the means of dissipating the remains of the conspiracy. For besides those who had shewn themselves again, and who, having held several riotous assemblies in different parts of Italy, were suppressed and overcame by arms, many had kept themselves concealed, and were unknown: these Vettius detected; they were arrested, and, their processses being made out, they were condemned either to death, or amerements. Cicero had a great share in these condemnations; and Sallust, at least the invective that passes ^{in Cic.} under his name, reproaches him with having erected a tribunal in his own house, from whence he passed those bloody sentences, in conjunction with his wife Terentia. But the piece from whence this fact is taken, is filled with such atrocious and senseless calumnies, that it does not deserve any credit.

Vettius was a very dishonest man, and soon gave reason for some extraordinary suspicions against himself: for having presented the Senate with a list containing the names of the conspirators he knew, he afterwards asked for it back again, to add some new names to it. It was apprehended, that there was some fraud in this demand, and therefore it was refused him. He was ordered to declare, *viva voce*, the names of those that he remembered, which gave him a good deal of confusion and perplexity. Moreover, this fatal list being kept secret, gave much uneasiness to many citizens, who apprehended that their names might be found in it. The Senate, to deliver the innocent from such alarms, published the list, by which men's minds were satisfied.

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A.R. 69a. It is reasonable to suppose, that Cicero could not
Ant. C. but be rendered odious by all these enquiries. The
62. Tribune Metellus Nepos, in concert with Cæsar, con-
tinually declaimed against him, and prepared to ac-
cuse him and cite him before the People, for having
put to death several citizens, without proceeding
against them according to due form of law. The
cause of Cicero was that of the Senate. They were
very sensible of it, and confirmed and ratified a-new
what had passed in his Consulship, declaring, that
whoever went about to give him any trouble thereon,
should be looked upon as an enemy to his country.
This decree imposed silence on Metellus with regard
to Cicero.

Dio.
Plut. in
Cæs. &
Cic. &
Catil.

But, still supported by Cæsar, he started a new af-
fair, which partly tended to the same end, and excited
the most violent commotions. He proposed, the re-
calling Pompey into Italy with his army, to reform
and pacify the State. Metellus was brother or cousin
to Pompey's wife Mucia, and sought his own eleva-
tion in that of so near an ally. Cæsar followed the
same scheme of advancing himself under the shade
of Pompey, and of raising that citizen, who already
overtopped all the rest, to as great a height as pos-
sible, that he might, by his credit at last, obtain
means to supplant him. Both of them aimed at de-
stroying the power of Cicero, whom they used tyran-
nically.

It was happy for Cicero and the Republic, that
Cato was Tribune of the People: but this was not
the effect of blind chance; it was the wisdom and
courage of that excellent citizen that had determined
him to take that employment upon him, merely to
oppose the rage of Metellus, which he had foreseen:
for in the preceding year, when every thing was quiet,
and his friends exhorted him to demand the Tribuneship,
he would not give ear to it, because he was
willing to reserve himself for a time, when the Com-
monwealth might have need of his services. He even
went out of Rome, and having taken his books and
some

some philosophers for his companions, was actually on the road, with a design to pass a time in Lucania, where he had lands, when he met a large train of horses and baggage in his way, and, upon enquiry, found they belonged to Metellus Nepos, who, coming from the army of Pompey, was going to Rome to demand the Tribunechip. A. R. 69.
Ant. C.
62. He stopped for a moment, and after having a little reflected with himself, he ordered his people to return towards the city. His friends were astonished at this sudden change. "Do you not know," said he to them, "that Metellus is a furious man, from whom every thing is to be feared? And now he comes hither in a good understanding with Pompey, it may produce a storm that will fall upon the Commonwealth, and overturn every thing. It is not therefore a time for me to taste the pleasures of leisure, nor take a journey to my lands; but to overcome this furious man, or die with courage in defence of liberty." Nevertheless Cato suffered himself to be prevailed upon to go through his journey; but he stayed but a very little time before he returned to Rome.

He arrived in the evening, and the next morning, put himself among those who stood for the Tribunechip. At first he had but a few friends with him: but when his intentions were known, all the best citizens and every good man crowded about him, exhorting him, encouraging him, and protesting to him, that they did not think it was Cato that would be obliged to them for giving him the employment, but that the Commonwealth would have great obligations to Cato, who had suffered the time to pass wherein he might have enjoyed the Tribunitian dignity in perfect tranquillity, and now presented himself to combat, not without danger, in defence of liberty and the laws.

He was accordingly named Tribune with Metellus Nepos, and eight others; and before he entered on his office, besides the signal service he did the Commonwealth,

^{A. R. 690.} ^{Ant. C.} monwealth, by determining the suffrages of the Se-
 nators with respect to the punishment of the conspira-
 tors, he rendered it still another, which tended directly
 to weaken the power of Cæsar: For the Prætorship
 of the last was dreaded, who had all the populace at
 his command, and especially the most unworthy, men
 who are always ready to give themselves up to any
 who offer them wherewithal to relieve their wants.
 Cato persuaded the Senate to order a free distribution
 of corn by the month, which in reality loaded the
 state with an expence of five millions five hundred
 thousand drachma's each year; but which nevertheless
 was looked upon as very useful, since it took from
 Cæsar a great number of Partisans, and cooled the zeal
 of the rest.

^{About}
^{37,500 L.}
^{sterling.}

Cato contributed very much to render ineffectual
 the personal attacks that Metellus made upon Cicero.
 He extolled his Consulship to the heavens, and I
 have already said, after Plutarch, that he gave Cicero
 the glorious title of "Father of his country." But
 it was principally against the law which recalled Pompey
 into Italy, that he contended with his greatest
 strength, and ran the greatest danger.

The return of Pompey, with a powerful army to
 Rome, which was indeed to make himself master of
 the Commonwealth, was sufficiently dreaded; there-
 fore Cato had great reason to oppose the law of his
 colleague. However, he at first tried the way of gen-
 tleness and persuasion. He made representations to
 him, in the senate, full of friendship: he even con-
 descended to beseech him, much praising, at the same
 time, the constancy with which Metellus's family had
 always maintained Aristocratical principles, and ex-
 horting Nepos not to degenerate from the glory of
 his ancestors. Nepos it seems was of a mean spirit,
 who seeing himself courted, became the more haughty,
 and imagined he was feared. He therefore grew ob-
 stinate, used menaces and rhodomontades, and pre-
 tended that he would bring about what he had under-
 taken, in spite of the Senate. Cato then altering the

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II

tone of his voice and his countenance, declared, in more express terms than ever, that as long as he lived, Pompey should not enter, with any army, into the city. The dispute grew to such an height, that they both seemed to be beside, and not to know, themselves. But it might be easily distinguished, says Plutarch, that this transport in one was a real fury whose origin was vicious, and whose end would have been fatal to the Commonwealth; and that in the other it was the enthusiasm of a virtuous mind, struggling in the cause of justice and liberty.

The day now approached, wherein the People, according to the scheme of Metellus, were to give their suffrages; and this Tribune, resolving to have the law pass by violence, had provided a quantity of arms, and got together foreign soldiers, gladiators, and slaves, a part of whom he had taken care to distribute in different parts of the Forum the evening before. He had for him a great part of the People, always desirous of novelties; and Cæsar supported him with all his credit, and with all the authority that was given him by the Prætorship. Cato was almost alone. The first People in the city thought as he did; and inwardly favoured him, but they scarce assisted him with any thing but their wishes. All his family were in affliction and alarms. His friends were so much overcome with grief that they could scarce eat; they passed all the evenings together in reasoning to no purpose on the present circumstance; his wife and his sisters lamented him. Tranquil and intrepid himself, he comforted those whom he saw afflicted about him. He supped at his usual hour, and passed the night very quietly, insomuch that he was yet asleep, when Minucius Thermus, the only one of his colleagues who acted in concert with him, came in the morning to give him notice, that it was time to be in the Forum, or rather field of battle. They went there together, accompanied by very few People; and were met by many who came on purpose to caution them of the danger they were running into.

When

A. R. 690.
Ant. C.
62.

A. R. 696. When Cato arrived there, he turned his eyes on all
 Ant. C. sides, and seeing that the temple of Castor was filled
 696 with soldiers, the steps that led to the tribunal guarded
 by the gladiators, and Metellus seated on high
 with Cæsar, he turned towards his friends : " O the
 " audacious man ! " said he to them ; " and cowardly
 " at the same time, to have assembled so many in
 " arms against one man unarmed ! " He advanced
 with Thermus ; and those who guarded the avenues,
 having opened to them, he passed on with his colleague : but Metellus's People immediately closing
 again would suffer no other person to pass by them, only Cato taking Munatius, one of his best friends,
 by the hand, with some difficulty brought him up also. He then went, and seating himself between
 Metellus and Cæsar, interrupted their conversation.
 An air of confusion was immediately visible in their countenances. On the contrary, the serenity and constancy of Cato inspired the good citizens with courage, and gave them confidence to approach one another, and exhort one another to unite, and not abandon the cause of liberty, or him who fought for it.

Then the Register would have read the law, according to custom, but Cato forbade him. Metellus took the paper, and would have read it himself. Cato snatched it from him, and, at the same time, Thermus put his hand upon his mouth, because, as he knew his law by heart, he was prepared to pronounce it without book. Metellus, thus hard put to it, gave the signal to the armed people he had distributed about the place. The Assembly immediately dispersed ; and Cato was left alone, exposed to rude attacks from clubs and stones. The Consul Murena, who had been accused by him, came to his succour. He covered him with his gown, and crying out to the furious rabble to desist, at length persuaded Cato himself to retire into the temple of Castor.

This generosity of Murena, without doubt, was very laudable. But it may be said, that Cato deserved

served it, because he had used him with no incivility A.R. 69. or austerity, but merely as the justice of the cause required. He shewed no malice on such occasions, to the persons, but friendship and benevolence even to those whom he found himself obliged to offend. Murrena, who was a worthy man, and of a gentle disposition, distinguishing this behaviour of Cato, and forgetting all that was personal to him, admired his virtues, and conducted himself in all things by his counsels.

Metellus, seeing his adversaries put to flight, thought he had gained the victory, and sending away his attendants, reckoned that all would go on quietly, and that his law would have been received. But those who opposed it, re-assembling, ran about with great outcries. Metellus and his people were altogether disconcerted; they feared, that their adversaries had got arms privately, so took to flight in their turn, and left the field open to Cato, who presently ascended the tribunal of harangues, and by a speech suitable to the occasion, fortified and encouraged the minds of the people.

This resistance of Cato gave fresh vigour to the Senate, who, by a decree, gave charge to the Consuls to watch for the safety of the city, and with Cato, to oppose a law which gave it trouble. The Senate even went so far, as to forbid Metellus and Cæsar to exercise the functions of their offices. These would at first have resisted it; but their faction was so intimidated, that all that Metellus could do was to inveigh against the pretended tyranny of Cato, and to threaten the Senators, that they should repent of having conspired against Pompey, and affronting so great a man. After which he went out of Rome, and began his march to go into Asia, although, as Tribune, it was not allowed him to leave the city, or lie one night out of it.

As to Cæsar, he conducted himself with more prudence. After having sounded the ford, and finding himself on the weakest side, he submitted with a good grace,

A. R. 690. grace, sent back his Lictors, and, having laid aside
 Ant. C. the *toga praetexta*, shut himself up in his own house.
 63. He did more : he refused the offer of a multitude who gathered together of themselves, and shewed they were disposed to maintain him by force, in the dignity of his office. The Senate, who did not expect so much moderation from him, were charmed with it. They sent for him, and re-established him, giving him many praises, and ordering the decree of his interdiction to be blotted out of the register. This indulgence shewed to Cæsar extended also to Metellus, and Cato contributed greatly thereto by his representations. This conduct did him honour. It was seen, that he had both generosity enough not to insult a vanquished foe, and prudence enough not to irritate Pompey. Metellus, who, it is very likely, was not got far, returned to Rome, and re-entered upon his office.

Cic. ad
Att. I. i. 3.
A. Gell.
xviii. 7.
Cic. ad
Fam. v. 2.

In all this affair, Cicero seemed to act but little, although he was very much interested in it. He opposed great moderation to the transports of Nepos, preserving, nevertheless, his rank and his dignity ; for he resisted with vigour when he found himself attacked, and even pronounced a discourse against him, which is lost. But when he was to give his opinion in the Senate, he always followed the mildest counsels. This we learn from himself, in a very fine letter to Metellus Celer, brother or cousin of Nepos. Celer had reproached him with a good deal of pride. Cicero answered him better, justifying himself without meanness, and refuting him without rudeness. This caution of Cicero with regard to Nepos, without doubt, was owing to Metellus Celer, who was a person of merit, and especially to Pompey, who was allied to them both. This did not prevent his living, for a time, with Nepos on the foot of an enemy. But he gathered the fruits of his moderation in the end, when the other employed his interest in getting him recalled from banishment, as we shall observe in its place.

At

At the end of this year, Pompey, on his return from the war he had made in the East, and approaching Italy, broke the alliance between him and the Metelli, by divorcing his wife Mucia, of which I have spoke elsewhere. Cicero tells us, that this divorce was very much approved of.

A. R. 690.
Ant. C.
62.

Cic. ad
Att. I. 12.

Q. Metellus Creticus, whose triumph had been for a long time retarded by the intrigues and chicanery even of Pompey, at length obtained it, and it was celebrated on the first of June. But it wanted what would have been the principal ornament of it, I mean the vanquished Cretan chiefs, Lasthenes, and Panares, whom a Tribune of the people claimed as the prisoners of Pompey.

Freinsh.
ciii. 8.

M. Pupius Piso, the Lieutenant and creature of Pompey, took his time early to demand the Consulship; and Pompey, who thought nothing could be denied him in the height of glory and power he then was, wrote to the Senate, to desire they would defer the assemblies, wherein the election of magistrates was to be made, that he might have time to come to them, and support in person the interest of his Lieutenant. In the Senate they were inclinable enough to grant his request: but Cato opposed it; not that he looked upon the thing as very important of itself, but that Pompey might not be authorized thereby to pretend to give laws. The assemblies therefore were held at the ordinary time, which did not hinder Pompey's recommendation from having its effect, Pupius was unanimously elected, and had M. Valerius Messala given him for his Collegue.

All things were calm, and the stroke that was given by the factious to shake the plan of government established by Cicero in his Consulship, fell, with disgrace, upon the authors of it. The conclusion of this year was marked with an adventure horrible in itself, and which in its consequences embroiled the state of affairs, and gave the worst citizens the upperhand again.

I have

A.R. 690. I have already spoke of Clodius, and had occasion
 Ant. C. to make his character known. Never was a man seen
 62. with more rashness, more petulance, or more corruption. Without reserve or modesty, vice, only vice seemed to have any charms for him. Notwithstanding this assemblage of bad qualities, his name, his birth, and his alliances gave him great credit; and so much the more, as he had talents necessary to gain the multitude, a popular eloquence, and a prodigality, that regarded neither the public funds, nor his own private fortune, provided he could make himself creatures by his largesses.

He loved Pompeia, the wife of Caesar, who, on her side, had not sense enough to repulse him: but Aurelia, the mother of Caesar, a severe and virtuous lady, watched her daughter-in-law so closely, that the intrigues of Clodius and Pompeia were very much restrained. The mysteries of the Good Goddess, which were this year celebrated in the house of Caesar, seemed a fair opportunity to them both. These pretended mysteries were actually accompanied with such infamous deeds, that it is no wonder that they served for the scene of an invitation to their adultery.

It is known, that the house where this feast was celebrated, was entirely given up to the women. All the men, even the master of it himself, were obliged to go out of it. All the male animals were drove away; and they carried the nicety so far, as to cover every picture that had any representations of them. The darkness of the night, the frantic and dissolute rejoicings, the dances with instruments and music, were all circumstances that seemed to favour the design of Clodius. As he was yet but young, and had very little beard, he hoped, that by putting on the habit of a woman, and dressing himself like a minstrel, he might enter unknown; which he did effectually, being introduced by a slave of Pompeia's, who was in the secret. But this slave having left him, to go and acquaint her mistress with what he had done, as some time passed, Clodius found himself a good deal

deal embarrassed. He could not rest where he was, nor did he care to go out of the way. While he shifted about from place to place, to avoid the lights, another slave, who belonged to Aurelia, observed him, and took him at first for a woman: But having conceived some suspicion from his borrowed air, she examined him, and Clodius was obliged to answer. His voice betrayed him. The slave was strangely surprized and frightened, and running to the place where the lights and the company were, cried out there was a man in the house. Aurelia immediately caused the mysteries to cease, covered the statues and the representation of the deities, and having ordered the doors to be shut, she began to search every where with flambeaux. Clodius was at length found in the chamber of the slave who had introduced him: and all the women gathering about him, he was driven out of the house.

A.R. 699
Ant. C.
62.

It is easy to imagine what a noise such an adventure as this made in Rome, when it was known. All the women informed their husbands of it the same night; and the next day there was a general outcry full of indignation against Clodius, as an impious wretch, whom the Gods and the Commonwealth were both interested to punish. The Vestals renewed the sacrifice: and Cæsar repudiated his wife, who had but too much deserved it. She was grand-daughter Suet. Cæs. cap. 6. of Q. Pompeius Rufus, and of Sylla, who had been Consuls together, and of course the daughter of that young Q. Pompeius, who was killed under the Consulship of his father, and father-in-law, in the sedition excited by the Tribune Sulpicius.

The sequel of this affair relates to the year when Pupius Piso and Messalla were Consuls.

A. R. 691.
Ant. C.
61.

M. PUPIUS PISO.

M. VALERIUS MESSALLA NIGER.

Cic. ad
Att. I. 13,
34, 16.

These two Consuls are characterized by Cicero, in one of his letters to Atticus. “ The one, * Piso, says he, is of a mean spirit, and the little wit he has, is of a bad turn. He endeavours to be pleasant, but is only ridiculous. He is no popular Consul, and separates himself entirely from the chiefs of the Aristocracy. The Commonwealth has no good to hope from him, because he is not capable of doing any, nor any ill to fear from him, because he has not spirit enough to undertake it. His colleague does in no wise resemble him : He treats me very honourably, and is attached to the best party.”

The affair of Clodius very much employed these Consuls, for it was brought before the Senate by Q. Cornificius. He delivered a preparatory edict, which imported that the college of Pontiffs should be consulted on the nature of the action. The answer was, that it was an impiety. Then the Senate ordered the Consuls to propose a law to the People, to establish an extraordinary commission, which should sit in judgment upon the fact of the profanation committed in the mysteries of the Good Goddess. Piso was Clodius’s friend ; therefore, at the same time that he proposed a law in obedience to a decree of the Senate, he started objections, and endeavoured to hinder its passing.

Clodius was in a very violent and dangerous situation. He had against him all the pillars of the Senate, the Consul Messalla, Lucullus, Hortensius,

* Consul parvo animo & pravo—facie magis quam facetus ridiculus ; nihil agens cum * populo, sejunctus ab optimatibus ; à quo nihil speres boni Reipublicæ, quia non vult ; nihil metuas mali, quia non audet. Ejus autem collega, & in me perhonoficus, & partium studiosus ac defensor bonarum. Cic. ad Att. I. 13.

* The editions have it, “ cum Republicâ.” I have followed the conjecture of Muret, who seems to express what Cicero means. Piso, according to him, is wrong-headed, insulate, who is neither popular, nor a partisan of the Senate’s.

Cicero,

Cicero, Cato. Even Pompey, who was but recently arrived, spoke in the Senate * and before the People in a manner little favourable to the cause of Clodius. This last used all the means imaginable to defend himself. He stirred up the rabble, who were always at his beck. Sometimes he had recourse to intreaties, and sometimes to invectives. In the Senate he prostrated himself at the feet of the Senators, and before the People he exclaimed against them: But all his efforts would have been ineffectual, if he had not gained the Tribune Q. Fufius Calenus to his interest: For the Consul Piso had absolutely no credit, being destitute of every good quality, and without any talents. Vicious † to excess if he had had one vice less, and if he had not been indolent, sleepy, ignorant, and slothful.

A.R. 69².
Ant. C.
61.

Fufius was therefore the sole resource of Clodius. But there was something so odious in this affair, that he dared not openly undertake the defence of the man he was willing to save. He would not oppose in form the law that had been proposed by the Consuls; he only disputed and shifted ground. Hortensius, who feared that he would at length strike in with the opposite party, thought of this expedient, which was, that the Tribune himself should propose a law, different in one article only from that of the Consuls. By the law of the Consuls the Praetor who was appointed to preside in judgment, was to form his council himself and choose the judges, and by this of Fufius the judges were to be drawn by lot. Hortensius, who proposed this medium, knew very well that there was an important difference between those two laws: but he was persuaded that there could be no judge who would acquit Clodius; and his expression was, "that a sword of lead was sufficient to cut his

* Those assemblies of the Senate and of the People, where Pompey was found, must have been held without the city, otherwise, as he pretended to a triumph, he could not have assisted at them.

† Uno vitio minus vitiosus, quod iners, quod somni plenus, quod imperitus, quod *impudicitatus*. CIC. ad Att. I. 14.

A. R. 69r. "throat." Thus altered, the law passed, and from
 Ant. C. 61. that moment Cicero began to moderate his activity
 and his ardour, which he did not care to consume to
 no purpose.

As soon as the Tribunal was formed, and the Judges began to take their seats, the good Citizens were entirely discouraged; for there were hardly seen among them any but dissolute persons, without shame, without any sentiments of probity. Never did any common gaming house * afford a set of more despicable wretches: there were indeed some few honest men, but disconcerted and ashamed to see themselves so matched.

These Judges acted at first with great severity, without doubt to allure the publick, or to sell themselves for the better price. They refused every thing to the accused; and the accuser, who was one Lentulus, obtained more than he demanded: so that Hortensius much applauded himself, and boasted of the wisdom of his proposition.

It is true, that it could be hardly credible, that Judges could have impudence enough to acquit such a profligate villain. Besides the particular crime of which he was accused, there were witnesses the most respectable, who deposed several atrocious facts against him. Forging of wills, adulteries, and debaucheries of all kinds; the sedition of Nisibis, of which he was the author; cut-throats armed by him, and distributed in companies to exercise all manner of violences by his order. Lucullus, whose wife was one of his sisters, charged him with having abused her, and proved the accusation by the testimony of the women slaves of his family whom he produced against him. It was publickly reported, that Clodius carried on an incestuous commerce also with his other two sisters, one of whom was married to Q. Marcius Rex, and the other to Q. Metellus Celer.

* Non enim unquam turpior in ludo talario confessus fuit. Cic.
 ad Att. I. 16.

For what related to the profanation of the mysteries of the Good Goddess, Aurelia, Cæsar's mother, and Julia his sister, deposed the facts as they had seen them. Cæsar was also cited as a witness: but, always politic, always attentive to manage those who he thought might be useful to him, and who were agreeable to the multitude, he said he knew nothing of the matter. And being asked for what reason then he repudiated his wife, he made an answer worthy a man more virtuous than himself. "The wife of Cæsar," said he, "ought not only to be free from guilt, but from the suspicion of it."

A. R. 691.
Ant. C.
61.

Clodius's whole defence turned upon one point. He alledged an *Alibi*, and proved by false witnesses, that the very night wherein he was accused of having troubled the mysteries, he lay at Interamna, a town about sixty miles from Rome. Cicero destroyed this vain allegation, by deposing, that he had seen Clodius, and talked with him in Rome, but a few hours before the night in question.

He spoke the truth; but Plutarch affirms, that it was at the instigation of his wife, that he appeared as an evidence against Clodius. The same historian adds some other circumstances, which at least seem to me suspicious, and which, for the most part, are only to be looked upon as reports spread by the enemies of Cicero. He said that Clodius had been his friend, and had given proofs of his zeal for him, and for the Commonwealth, in the affair of the conspiracy; that Clodia, the sister of Clodius, and the wife of Metellus Celer, had loved Cicero, and would have married him; which, as they were both married, must have occasioned a double divorce; and that it was the jealousy which Terentia had of this intrigue, that drove this imperious woman to engage her husband to depose against Clodius, and which of consequence embroiled him with Clodia. All the relation of Plutarch, so little to the honour of Cicero, may have nothing of truth in it, but the views and projects of Clodia, which cannot be denied. It would

A. R. 691. not be difficult to refute the rest, if this was the proper place. But not to engage myself in too long a discussion, I shall content myself with observing, that Cicero had no need of any foreign instigation to put him upon deposing a true fact against Clodius, who from that time had menaced him. He relates it himself, that when he presented himself as an evidence, all the Judges rising, and coming about him, shewed him their necks, and protested they were ready to sacrifice their own lives to save his from the rage of Clodius. He remarks, and sets a great value upon this honourable testimony, which flattered his vanity. He nevertheless did not suffer himself to run into invectives against an enemy, so worthy both of his contempt and hatred, and satisfied himself with deposing all simply as it was.

The applauses given to Cicero by the Judges, the luculent proofs they shewed of their great concern for his safety, finished the despair both of the accused and his defenders. They had reason for fresh alarms from another step taken by the Judges, who demanded a guard from the Senate, which was allowed them. Thus every thing seemed to promise an inevitable condemnation of Clodius.

In two days the affair changed its appearance, and by ways so detestable that I am in pain to speak of them. Crassus charged himself with this infamous negotiation. He sent for the Judges to his house, gave money to some, and promised it to others. There were even adulteries stipulated, and other abominations more contrary to nature. It was thus that Clodius got himself acquitted, by crimes greater than those for which he was brought to his trial. On the day that judgment * was to be given, the publick Forum was filled with slaves, all good men were put

* Summo discessu bonorum, pleno Foro servorum, XXV. judices ita fortes tamen fuerunt, ut summo proposito periculo, vel perire maluerint, quam perdere omnia, XXXI. fuerunt, quos famae magis, quam fama commoyerit. Quorum Catulus, quem vidisset quemdam, "Quid vos," inquit, "præsidium à nobis petebatis? an, ne nummi vobis eriperentur, timebatis?" CIC.

A. R. 69.
Ant. C.
6L

to flight. Nevertheless there were five and twenty Judges found, who chose rather, notwithstanding the extreme danger that threatened them, to expose themselves to it, than suffer the Commonwealth to be ruined and overthrown. One and thirty of them dreaded hunger more than the worst ill name. These unworthy Judges, who deserved the greatest punishment, were not without disgrace ; and Catulus meeting one of them, asked him, “ What they demanded a guard for ? Whether it was for fear any body should take the money from them that they had received of the accused ? ”

This abominable judgment was attended with consequences very fatal to the Commonwealth. Vice victorious and triumphant began to insult probity and virtue. Having trodden under foot the laws of decency, the ties of conscience, and the authority of the Senate, wicked men now thought to revenge themselves for the severity of Cicero’s Consulship. The good, on the contrary, discouraged, dejected, thought themselves no longer in a condition to resist their enemies. Cicero here acted the part of a great Senator. He re-animated the hopes of good men, by his discourses, and by his exhortations. He inveighed with vehemence against the corruption of the Judges ; and reduced to a silence of shame and confusion all those who had seemed to favour this unworthy victory. He procured, in particular, for the Consul Piso, the punishment of his criminal prevarication, by depriving him of the government of Syria, of which he thought himself secure. He afterwards fell upon Clodius himself with so much force, that all the assurance of that wretch could not bear him up, and he was absolutely disconcerted.

Cicero has inserted in the letter to Atticus, from whence I have chiefly taken all that I have just said, a part of a speech that he made in the Senate, on the 15th of May, Clodius being present. After * having

* Multa dixi de summâ Republicâ, atque ille locus inductus à me est divinitus, ne unâ plagâ acceptâ patres conscripti conciderent : vulnus

A. R. 691. exhorted the Senators, not to be dispirited for one
 Ant. C. wound given the Commonwealth, he added : " This
 64. " wound is of such a nature, that we ought not to
 " disguise nor fear it ; lest, if we fear it, we should
 " seem to want courage ; and if we know not the im-
 " portance and consequences of it, to want sense.
 " Lentulus and Catiline have been twice acquitted.
 " This is the third scourge that the corrupt Judges
 " have prepared for the Commonwealth. Thou art
 " in an error, Clodius, if thou thinkest thyself out
 " of danger. The Judges have not insured thy ha-
 " bitation in the city ; but they have reserved thee
 " for a prison, and for punishment. They do not
 " pretend to maintain thee in the rights of a citizen,
 " but they have deprived thee of an exile, which
 " would, at least, have put thy life in security. And
 " you, Gentlemen, resume your courage, and con-
 " tinue to support a conduct full of dignity. The
 " union of good men, which is the firmest prop of
 " the Commonwealth, still subsists. What has hap-
 " pened is a subject of grief to them, but does not
 " diminish their virtue. No new evil has befallen
 " us, but the evil that was concealed is now disco-
 " vered ; the acquittal of one wretch has shewn us
 " those who are like him."

Cicero could not have done better. He flattered himself that he had established every thing ; but the event will prove that he deceived himself. The wicked, animated by success, did not cease to make attacks both upon the Republic and Cicero, whose cause was that of the state : and at length Clodius finished his revenge upon both, by the banishment of

nus esse ejusmodi, quod mihi nec dissimulandum, nec pertimescendum videretur ; ne aut metuendo ignavissimi, aut ignorando stultissimi judicaremus : bis absolutum esse Lentulum, bis Catilinam, hunc tertium jam esse à judicibus in Repuplicam immissum. Erras, Clodi, non te judices urbi, sed carceri reservarunt ; neque te retinere in civitate, sed exilio privare voluerunt. Quamobrem, P. C. erigitte animos retinete vestram dignitatem. Manet illa in Repuplicâ bonorum consensio : dolor accessit bonis viris ; virtus non est imminuta. Nihil est damni factum novi, sed quod erat, inventum est. In unius hominis perditio judicio plures similes reperti sunt.

him

C. A. C. 69.
Ant. C.
61.

him who had stifled the conspiracy of Catiline. C. A. C. 69.
Cero knew that he was threatened, but did not believe that the danger was so great or so near. He confided in the affection that all honest men had for him, upon the honourable proofs of it that were shewn by the multitude, and especially upon his friendship with Pompey, on which he could not fully rely, but according to all appearance it was likely to be extremely useful to him. This reminds me to return to Pompey, who is going to enter upon a new course, very different from what he had taken before. He had shone in war, but did not come off with so much honour in his domestic and civil affairs.

It is true, that at his return from Asia, he shewed at first an example of great moderation. The historians agree, that, with the army he brought back with him, he might have made himself master of Rome and the Commonwealth. All men saw him, and very much feared he would do what was so easy to him. Crassus went so far as to fly out of the city with his children, and carried with him as much of his treasure as he could. Nevertheless, it was thought that this step, which made so much noise, had more of artifice than real fear in it: and that his design was to render Pompey odious.

This, who had never any design to seize on the sovereign authority by force, put a stop to all clamours and suspicions by disbanding his army as soon as he set foot in Italy. Arrived at Brundusium, he called his soldiers together, and after making a speech to them suitable to the occasion, he ordered them to separate, and each to retire to his own habitation; and yet he had a very specious pretence for keeping them together. It was a custom, founded both on reason and equity, that the army should triumph with their General. But he chose rather to deprive his triumph of so honourable an attendance, than to give any un-easiness to the citizens.

The zeal and administration of the People gave him an opportunity of repeating so fine an action: for

A. R. 69. for when they saw him returned to Italy, after so many
 Ant. C. victories, as from a journey only made for his pleasure,
 61. without any other retinue but his particular friends, there gathered so great a concourse about him, and the multitude increased so on the road, that at his arrival at the gates of Rome, if he had had any ill designs against the public liberty, he would have no need of any other army than that which had voluntarily formed itself to attend him. He took no advantage of it; but contented himself with the glorious reception he met with: all the city went out to pay their respects to him, the young people at a great distance, others farther or nearer according to their strength, and the Senate at the entrance of the walls.

He was obliged to wait some months at the gates of the city, till a convenient time for his triumph. But his authority had not the less influence in affairs, as I have already observed; and every one endeavoured to draw to his side so powerful a Citizen. Cicero on one hand, and his adversaries on the other, had already taken their time, whilst he was yet in Asia. Pompey, always dissembling, always artful, kept himself upon the reserve, and seemed willing to float between the two parties. Cicero in one of the letters we have of his, makes complaints to him, with that noble freedom which is so becoming to great men. * "I have done," says he to him, "those things which I thought you would have vouchsafed to have given me joy upon, both as a friend and as a citizen. I guess the reason of your silence; you are afraid there are some people would be offended at any praise you should give me. But

* Res eas gessi, quarum aliquam in tuis literis, & nostræ necessitudinis & Reipublicæ causâ, gratulationem exspectavi: quem ego abs te prætermissam esse arbitror, quod vererere ne cujus animum offenderes. Sed scito, ea quæ nos pro patriæ salute gessimus, orbis terræ judicis ac testimonio comprobari. Quæ, quum veneris, tanto consilio tantâ, que animi magnitudine à me gesta esse cognosces, ut tibi multò majori quam Africanus fuit, me non multò minorem quam Lælium, facile & in Republicâ, & in amicitiâ, conjunctum esse patiare. CIC. ad Fam.

V. 7.

7.

" know

" know that what I have done for the good of my country, has met with the approbation of all the world. When you shall be here, you will acknowledge so much wisdom and greatness of soul, in my conduct, that you will not be ashamed, you who are without doubt greater than Scipio Africanus, to make an alliance, both in private society, and for the affairs of the public, with a man who yields but little to Lælius."

The complaints of Cicero were to very little purpose, if they did not even do him an injury, as it has been said, and he but feebly denies. It is certain, that he had but little reason to be satisfied with Pompey at their first interview; notwithstanding, he received a very gracious compliment from him. The conqueror of the East said to Cicero, that he was obliged to him for seeing his country again, and that he should have come to little effect prepared for a third triumph, if he had not preserved the place where he was to triumph. These were only words, that were not capable of imposing upon a man so clear-sighted as him we are speaking of. Atticus, who had seen Pompey on the road, had already wrote to his friend, that this General praised his Consulship, since he durst no longer blame it. And we shall see here in what manner Cicero wrote in his turn to Atticus. Pompey * esteems me very much, as he would have it thought: he embraces, cherishes me; he praises me aloud; whilst at the bottom of his heart, and in a manner that may be seen through, he is jealous of my glory. I do not find in him any true sweetness, any frankness, any sincere and direct views to the affairs of the Commonwealth, nothing exalted, nothing generous or free." This picture

* Tuus ille amicus, (scin' quem dicam? de quo tu ad me scripsisti, postea quam non auderet reprehendere, laudare cœpisse) nos, ut ostendit, admodum diligit, amplectitur, amat; aperte laudat; occulte, sed ita ut perspicuum sit, invidet. Nihil comes, nihil simplex, nihil honestum, nihil illustre, nihil forte, nihil liberum. CIC. ad Att. I. 13.

does

A. R. 691. does not flatter him ; and if it hardly resembles what
 Ant. C. Cicero has elsewhere said of Pompey, there is no doubt
 61. but more credit is to be given to a letter wrote from
 the abundance of the heart, than to harangues made
 to be delivered before numerous auditories. Besides,
 I do not think it difficult to reconcile these things :
 men are oftentimes different from themselves, as they
 shew themselves on the theatre of the world, and as
 they are seen in private ; therefore it is not to be
 wondered at, if the heroes of Cicero's orations, should
 have characters not much to be esteemed in his letters.
 Pompey fully verified, by his conduct, the idea that
 Cicero had of him. When he harangued the People
 for the first time after his return, being willing to
 keep fair with every one, he spoke in such a manner,
 as to give satisfaction to nobody ; and his discourse
 was received with great indifference. The Consul
 Messalla having desired his opinion, in the Senate, on
 the affair of Clodius, which was still carrying on,
 Pompey thought he had done a great deal by praising,
 in general, the authority and decrees of the Assembly ;
 and in setting himself down by Cicero, he told him,
 he thought he had sufficiently explained himself on
 his Consulship. It is true, that Cicero having done
 nothing but with the advice of the Senate, his ad-
 ministration was included in the encomiums given by
 Pompey ; but it is true also, that these encomiums
 were very vague.

Crassus acted quite otherwise ; he, who might have
 complained that Cicero had not done him justice on
 many occasions, and had always endeavoured to extol
 Pompey to his prejudice. Having observed that the
 bare suspicion of being willing to speak well of Ci-
 cero's Consulship had done honour to Pompey, he
 expatiated with Pompey on that subject. He said,
 " That * if he was a Citizen and Senator, if he en-
 joyed his liberty and his life, he was indebted to Ci-

* Se, quod esset Senator, quod civis, quod liber, quod viveret, mihi
 acceptum referre ; quoties conjugem, quoties domum, quoties patriam
 videbat, toties se beneficium meum videre. Cic. ad Att. I. 14.

cero for them ; that as often as he saw his family, his wife and his country, so often should he call to mind the obligation he had to him, who had preserved them to him." A.R. 69.
Aut. C.
61.

This discourse awakened Pompey, being piqued to find that Crassus had shewn him what was his duty, and taken advantage of the occasion which he had neglected to gain himself applause ; or else astonished to find, that the services of Cicero were really so great, and that the encomiums he had given him were so well received by the Senate.

All the world knows, that the foible of Cicero was the love of praise ; therefore there is no need to say how much he was pleased with Crassus. Nevertheless he willingly received the little that Pompey gave him in obscure words and ambiguous expressions. But when he was to speak himself, he displayed all the sails of his eloquence to set himself out before a new auditor, such a one as Pompey. Fine periods, happy turns, bold and noble figures, flowed from his mouth. He boasted of the wisdom and resolution of the Senate, the agreement of the order of Knights with the first body of the Republic, and of the union of all Italy for the common safety. He spoke of the remains of the conspiracy that were yet left, of the abundance of provisions, and of the tranquillity that the government enjoyed. " You * know," said he to Atticus, " what noise, and what turmoil I make, " when I treat of these things ; and therefore I shall " not enlarge upon it here, because I believe you " may have heard of it in Greece where you are."

To all the advances that Cicero made Pompey, he found no other return but the latter's acting a farce, of which the public was the dupe. The populace was persuaded that Pompey loved Cicero tenderly ; and to express their intimacy, that knot of young debauchees, who had been in a strict alliance with Cat-

* Nostri jam in hâc materiâ sonitus nostros : tanti fuerunt, ut ego ed
brevior, sim, quod eos usque istinc exauditos putem.

A. R. 691. line, called Pompey Cneus Cicero, giving him a name
 Ant. C. formed of his own Prenomen and the surname of him
 61. to whom they thought he was strictly united. In truth,
 the behaviour of Pompey towards Cicero was at least
 equivocal till the time of his banishment.

He did not follow the best principles in what related to the other affairs of the state. We have already seen that he presented the Commonwealth with a very bad Consul in the person of Pupius Piso. He did the same this year, and undertook, in spight of every body, to put another creature of his own in his place, whose principal merit was, that of being a good dancer. This was Afranius. To succeed in this, Pompey did not go about it in the ways of honour and reputation, nor employ that credit which was so much his due; but that method, says Cicero *, of which Philippus so well expressed the efficacy, when he said, there was no town impregnable, when an ass loaded with gold could enter into it. Money was distributed with profusion, and it was reported, that the Consul Piso was the manager of this traffic between the two parties.

Plut. Pomp. Catil.
 Cato now pleased himself to think he had refused the alliance of Pompey: For this, who had proved the steadiness of Cato when he had undertaken to manage Piso's election to the Consulship, not doubting but he should again find him thwarting his purposes on other occasions, was willing to gain him to his side, and therefore demanded his two nieces in marriage, the eldest for himself, and the youngest for his son. The wife and sister of Cato were charmed with so advantageous a proposition. But for himself, ever rigid, he answered Munatius, who was charged with the negotiation, in the following manner: "Tell Pompey, that Cato will not suffer himself to be taken by the women. I am obliged to him for his

* *Omnibus invitis trudit noster magnus auli filium: atque in eo neque auctoritate, neque gratia pugnat, sed quibus Philippus omnia castella expugnari posse dicebat, in quo modo asellus onustus auro posset adscendere.* Cic. ad Att. I. 16.

" bene-

" benevolence. As long as he shall form no designs A.R. 62.
 " but what are just and reasonable, he may depend Ant. C.
 " on a friendship on my part more steady than any
 " that can be produced by the nearest allies. But I
 " shall give him no hostages that may be capable of
 " tying up my hands when it is necessary to defend
 " my country."

Plutarch is of opinion that Cato carried his austerity too far in this instance ; that if he had consented to the marriages proposed, he would have prevented the alliance between Pompey and Cæsar, which he thought might occasion the ruin of the Empire, and did occasion that of the Government : In short, that Cato, by fearing to be drawn in to countenance the slighter faults of Pompey, had exposed him to become, as it happened in effect, the support and defender of greater and more pernicious acts of justice. I am afraid that this historian, in other matters so wise, has here judged by the event : For may it not be answered that Cæsar, if he had not become the father-in-law of Pompey, might have found in their common ambition, and in the superiority of his genius, wherewithal to have formed this union, so necessary to his views, and so fatal to liberty ? For my part, I cannot help admiring a virtue which is not to be dazzled by the blaze of fortune, and which in engagements, very innocent in themselves, can foresee, and dread the necessity of being obliged to concur in the abuse and violation of the laws.

Thus the persons themselves thought who were the most interested in the affair, and who had at first blamed Cato's inflexibility. His wife and sister, when they saw the tricks that were used to make Afranius Consul, and the corruption so publickly practised, that they went so far, according to Plutarch, as to receive the money in the gardens of Pompey, very readily acquiesced in the reflection of Cato thereupon, who said to them, " You now bear the indignities in which we must have shared, had we accepted the alliance of Pompey."

Afranius

A.D. 691. Afranius was named Consul: And Pompey *, who
 Ant. C. 68. had looked upon the Consulship as the glorious prize
 of his exploits, and who had been raised to it by his
 merit, made no scruple to disparage it, by rendering
 it venal, and procuring it, by the strength of money,
 for such as never could have obtained it otherwise.
 This reflection, which Plutarch made with regard to
 Pompey, Cicero had made before with regard to him-
 self before the election of Afranius. + "Behold,"
 said he to Atticus, "the Consulship, which Curio
 called an apotheosis, becoming, if such a man arrives
 at it, the royalty of the bean. It is much better to
 philosophize as you do, and regard all these Consul-
 ships as dirt." The common language of all ambi-
 tious men, when things do not go according to their
 mind, but which oftentimes their actions give the
 lie to. Afranius had for his Colleague Q. Metellus
 Celer, a man of a great name, and who maintained
 the nobleness of his birth by that of his sentiments.

Celer was just returned from Cisalpine Gaul, which
 he had governed after his Praetorship in quality of
 Proconsul. It was in the time of this administration
 that the fact happened †, which Pliny and Pomponius
 Mela relate after Cornelius Nepos. They say that the
 King of the Suevi || gave to Metellus Celer, Pro-
 consul of Gaul, some Indians, who having embarked
 in their own country to go and trade with foreigners,
 had been so violently driven out of their way by a
 storm, that they were brought upon the coasts of
 Germany. Such an event was very useful to the an-

* Οὐς τὸν Πομπεῖον ἀχέτιν κακός, οὐς δύτος αἴρετος ἐστιν οὐς καταβάσιν ἀσ-
 πειστεὶς ἔτυχε, ταῦτα μητοι πιθεγτα τοῖς, δι αἵρετος κλησιασθαι μεταρίζειν.
 PLUT. POMP.

† Sed heus tu, vide sine Consulatum illum nostrum, quem Curio
 antea ἀποδιων vocabat, si hic factus erit fabam minime futurum.
 Quare, ut opinor, φασοργεῖον, id quod tu facis, & istos Consulatus
 non flocci, iactio. CIC. ad Att. I. 16.

‡ Pighius and Freinsheimius place this fact in the year that followed
 the Consulship of Metellus Celer, and which was that of his death.
 It is true that Transalpine Gaul had fallen to his department, but it
 is very likely he never set foot in that Province, being prevented by
 his death.

|| A People of Germany, who gave name to Swabia.

tient geographers, who wanted a proof that our continent is quite environed by seas. For us, if this fact was true, it is only another instance added to those, by which it has been proved, that the Cape of Good Hope had been doubled many ages before the Portuguese made the discovery of it: But I cannot but suspect that these pretended Indians were inhabitants of the western coasts of Africa. This wandering then was not so very extraordinary, and the fact becomes a great deal more probable. Mr. Huet, in his History of Trade, makes them come from a very different country, and thinks it highly probable that they were people of Lapland. In his work may be seen those reasons of conformity which inspired him with that thought.

The triumph of Pompey was deferred for some months, without doubt to have time to get together all the train that was to attend it: at length it was celebrated on the 28th and 29th of September. The last of these was the birth-day of the triumpher. Two days were taken up in this pomp, on account of the immense number of the monuments of Pompey's glory, which were chiefly to adorn it: and even two days were not sufficient for it; but there remained wherewithal to have magnificently decorated another triumph, if there had been need of it.

An inscription was carried at the head, which signified, that POMPEY, AFTER HE HAD DELIVERED ALL THE MARITIME COASTS FROM PIRATES, AND GIVEN TO THE ROMAN PEOPLE THE EMPIRE OF THE SEA, TRIUMPHED OVER ASIA, PONTUS, ARMENIA, PAPHLAGONIA, CAPPADOCIA, SYRIA, THE SCYTHIANS, THE JEWS, THE ALBANIANS, IBERIA, THE ISLAND OF CRETE, THE BASTERNAE, AND LASTLY OVER THE KINGS MITHRIDATES AND TIGRANES. He added himself, when after his triumph he harangued the People, according to custom, to give an account of his exploits, "That he had fought with two and twenty Kings; and had so far extended the frontiers of the Empire, that Asia Minor, which, before his

A.R. 69t.
Ant. C.
61.

Plin. xii.
26. and
xxxviii. 2.
Plut.
Pomp.
Appian.
Mithrid.

Orof. vi. 6.
Plin.

A.R. 69¹. conquests, was the last of the Provinces belonging to
Ant. C.
61. the Roman People, was now in the center of them."

I shall join to this another inscription, which represents the victories of Pompey in a fresh light. It was placed by the Victor in the temple of Minerva, towards the building of which he had consecrated a part of the spoils. The following is as it is preserved by Pliny: **CN. POMPEY THE GREAT, General * OF THE ROMAN ARMS, HAVING MADE AN END OF A THIRTY YEARS WAR, VANQUISHED, PUT TO FLIGHT, OR BROUGHT TO COMPOSITION, TWO MILLIONS ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-THREE THOUSAND MEN; HAVING SUNK, OR TAKEN, EIGHT HUNDRED FORTY-SIX VESSELS; HAVING SUBDUCED ALL THE COUNTRIES BETWEEN THE PALUS MEOTIS AND THE RED SEA, HAS JUSTLY ACQUITTED HIMSELF OF THE VOW HE MADE TO MINERVA.**

The riches displayed in this triumph were prodigious, and added a new degree of luxury and corruption to the Roman manners, particularly with respect to jewels, which till that time had been but little known in Rome. There were to be seen in it a pair of tables for play, made of two precious stones, four feet long and three feet wide. A moon of gold, weighing near forty-seven French marks †; three beds for the table, of gold also, one of which, as it was presented, belonged to Darius the son of Hyrcanus; gold vessels, enriched with precious stones, enough to furnish nine buffets; three statues of gold, one of Minerva, one of Mars, and the other of Apollo; the golden vine of Aristobulus, which has been spoken of before; three and thirty crowns of pearl; a little chapel consecrated to the Muses, all of pearl, with a sun-dial at top; lastly, the effigies of Pompey himself, made also of pearl. There was carried besides a

* The word Imperator, as it is in the Latin, in this place is a title of honour, that the soldiers gave with acclamations to their General, after a great victory. There is no word in our language that answers to it.

† Of eight ounces each.

chest filled with jewels and rings of great value, which had belonged to Mithridates, and which Pompey consecrated in the Capitol with the golden vine, and much other riches. Add the throne and sceptre of the same Mithridates, and a bust of that Prince in gold, of the height of eight cubits; a silver statue of Pharnaces, grandfather of Mithridates; chariots of gold and silver. Among the natural curiosities the ebony tree, which had never been seen at Rome, appeared there, for the first time, in this triumph. Plin. xii. 4.

The gratifications given by the triumpher to the officers and soldiers were also expressed in a picture, that passed along in the shew. It was therein shewn, that Pompey had given a thousand talents * to his Lieutenants and Quæstors, who had defended the coasts in the war with the Pirates, and that there was not any one of his soldiers who had not received six thousand sesterces †. Besides these sums, which were certainly the fruits of the war, and without which Pompey could not have been able to have done himself this honour, he brought into the public treasury in silver coined, or plate, twenty thousand talents ‡; and an inscription declared, that he had almost tripled the revenue of the Commonwealth, which before him amounted to not above fifty millions of drachmas a year; and that it would receive, from the countries alone which he had conquered, eighty-five millions.

To all this shew of wealth, was joined a more military equipage: waggons filled with arms of all sorts, beaks of ships, a great multitude of prisoners of war, not loaded with chains, as had been the custom in former times, but every one at liberty, and dressed after the mode of their country. Immediately before the triumphal car, marched the Kings, Princes, and great Lords, who had been taken in arms, or delivered as hostages, to the number of three hundred and

* About 150,000 pounds sterling.

† About 43 pounds sterling.

‡ About three millions sterling.

A. R. 69¹. twenty-four; young Tigranes was particularly taken notice of, with his wife and daughter, and Queen Zozima, the wife of old Tigranes: seven children of Mithridates, viz. five Princes, Artaphernes, Cyrus, Oxathres, Xerxes, and Darius; and the two Princesses, Orsabaris and Eupetra: Olthaces, who had reigned in Colchis: Aristobulus, King of the Jews, with his son Antigonus and two daughters. Tyrants and chiefs of the Cilician pirates: Princesses of Scythia: three Albanian Generals, two Iberian: The hostages of these People, and of the King of Comagena; and last of all Menander, Commander in chief of Mithridates's cavalry.

Several pictures followed, which represented the vanquished Kings, or the battles gained either by Pompey or his Lieutenants. Especially the adventures of Mithridates were painted in every circumstance; the nocturnal battle, wherein he was entirely defeated; his flight; the siege that he maintained in the Fort of * Panticapæum; his death; and that of his two daughters who chose to die with him. There were likewise seen the portraits of several other of his children, of both sexes, who died before him. The Gods of the Barbarians closed this long train of pictures, carried by the people who adored them, in triumph, who drew the attention of the spectators, by the singularity of their appearance and habits. Appian places here another inscription, which with the names of the conquered Kings bore those of thirty-nine towns founded by Pompey in different regions of the East.

Next Pompey appeared himself, in a carr shining with precious stones, cloathed in a military cassock, said to be that of Alexander, which Mithridates had found among the treasure brought into the island of Cos by Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, grand-mother of Ptolomy Alexander II. The carr of the triumpher was followed by the principal officers of his army,

* Hod, Pantico.

Lieutenant-Generals, Tribunes, and others, some on foot and some on horseback. The army should have been there, as I have observed, entirely : But absent for reasons that had engaged Pompey to disband it, it did him more honour, than if it had marched in his train pouring forth their applause.

The Roman ferocity was softened. The prisoners, ^{Liv. Epit.} who, in preceding triumphs, were either killed or ciii. kept in prisons, were now treated with more humanity. They were sent back to their own countries : only Aristobulus and Tigranes were detained, that Hyrcanus and old Tigranes might enjoy peace in their dominions.

This last triumph fully confirmed to Pompey the surname of the Great : all the People assembled gave it him with acclamations, and he was then in effect the greatest of the Romans. It was remarked, as a singular glory to him, that in his three triumphs, he had successively presented to the view of the Romans the three parts of the known world. For Africa had supplied him with matter for his first triumph, Europe for his second, and Asia for his third ; so that his conquests seemed to embrace the whole universe.

He had been compared in his youth to Alexander, and some writers, to render the comparison more perfect, supposed that he was under thirty-four years of age when he triumphed over Mithridates. The truth is, that he was past his forty-fifth. “ It were to be wished *,” says Plutarch, that he had resembled Alexander by dying before fortune abandoned him. The time that he lived after his third triumph brought him nothing but an odious posterity and disgraces without return. For employing unjustly in favour of

* Ως ὥντο γ' ἀνταύδα τε βίον πανομένος, ἄχρις οὐ τὰς Αλεξάνδρου τύχου ἰσχει, οὐ δὲ πάχεια χρόνος αὐτῷ ταῦτα μὴν ἡποχής οὐκυχεῖται ἐπιφθόνος ἀποχέτες καὶ ταῖς συσυχεισ. ἢν ταῦτα εἰποστηκότων αὐτὸς ἱκτίπατο δυτερη, ταύτη, χρόνος ιστορίας ἀλλοι καὶ δικαιῶς οὗτος ἔχεινος ισχεῖς πιστεύει τῆς αὐτῆς δόξης ἀφαιρεῖ, ἵναδε φάμι καὶ μεγάθει τῆς αὐτῆς δυταύδης καταλυθεῖ, καὶ χρεώστερ ταῖς καριεράττατα μίνη καὶ χαρις τῶν πόλεων, ὅπας διέκειται πολεμένες, ἔχεινος προστιθέντος της αὐτῆς ισχει, ἔτος δια τῆς Πομπείων δυταύδης Καῖσαρ ἴζερθεις ιπὲ τὴν πόλην ἐκτὰ τῶν ἀλλοι ισχεῖς τέτοιο αἰτίᾳ φέ κατεβαλει. PLUT. POMP.

A. R. 691. others, that authority which he himself had acquired
 Ant. C. by legal means, as much as he increased their strength,
 61. by so much he diminished his own glory, and at length ruined himself, without knowing how to prevent it by the greatness of his own power. The strong places, when the enemy had entered them, transferred their strength to the Victor, and helped themselves to put on their own fetters; thus the power of Pompey, after having been employed to raise Cæsar against the Commonwealth, helped the same Cæsar to destroy and overthrow him by whom he had subdued all others." The growth of Cæsar and the ruin of Pompey are the principal objects to fix our attention for a series of several years. But before we enter upon this, we have some other facts of less importance to relate.

S E C T. II.

The death of Catulus. Censors. Games. The bears of Numidia. The beginning of the custom to interrupt the combats of the gladiators, by going to dinner. Motions in Gaul. The expedition of Scaurus against Aretas, King of one part of Arabia. Q. Cicero governs Asia for the space of three years. The Praetorship of Octavius, father of Augustus. His conduct in the government of Macedonia. His death. The characters of the two Consuls. The authority of the Senate was at that time weakened, and the order of Knights turned out of it. Pompey demands the confirmation of his acts. Lucullus opposes it in the Senate. A law proposed by a Tribune of the People, to assign lands to the soldiers of Pompey. The ambiguous conduct of Cicero throughout this whole affair. The Consul Metellus opposes the law. Motions of the Helvetii in Gaul. The Consul is put into prison by the Tribune Flavius. The constancy of the Consul. Pompey allies with Clodius. Clodius attempts to make himself a Plebeian, to get the office of Tribune. Cæsar, at the expiration of his Praetorship, having the province of Ulterior Spain assigned

assigned to him, is stopped by his creditors, when he would have gone thither. Crassus delivers him from the most importunate. The saying of Cæsar concerning a pitiful little town in the Alps. He creates a war in Spain, and obtains several advantages from it. An admirable action of one of Cæsar's soldiers. Cæsar's administration beloved. He returns into Italy, and declines a triumph to gain the Consulship. He forms the Triumvirate. Is named Consul with Bibulus. A law to abolish tolls and duties paid upon entering Rome or any parts of Italy. Combats of gladiators given by Faustus Sylla in honour of his father. The Apollinarian games given by Lentulus Spinther the Prætor. A piece of painting in fresco brought from Lacedemonia to Rome.

THE Commonwealth lost, this year, one of its
supports in the person of Catulus. Without
greatly shining by superior talents, an uniform con-
duct, upright designs, always directed to the publick
good, a constant attachment to aristocratical maxims,
and, in a word, all the qualities of an excellent Citizen
and a wise Senator, had gained him great authority.
Cicero, who praises him in several parts of his works,
extols him particularly for his constancy, which *
was proof against the most threatening storms, and not
to be seduced by those honours, which were dispensed
by popular favour, so that neither hope or fear could
ever lead him out of those paths he had chalked out
to himself. If Catulus had lived longer, it would
have been a sensible affliction to him to have seen
Cæsar, his declared enemy, taking such hasty strides,
and openly preparing the way to oppress liberty.

This same year there were Censors, but their names
continue unknown. We know, however, that they
prepared the register of the Senate, which was more
numerous than formerly, because they introduced

* Quem (Catulum) neque periculi tempestas, neque honoris aura
potuit unquam de suo cursu, aut spe, aut metu, demovere. Pro
Sex. n. 101.

A. R. 691. into it all those who had possessed any post in the magistracy. Whereas till that time curule offices alone
 Ant. C. 61. gave a right to those who had enjoyed them to be admitted into the Senate, and named as Senators in the
 Lapis An- first promotion. As to performing the lustre, which
 cyr. put an end to all the operations of the Censorship,
 that ceremony was not used under the Censors I am
 speaking of, and continued to be interrupted for the
 space of one and forty years, from the time of the
 Censors Gellius and Lentulus, to that of the sixth
 Consulship of Augustus.

Domitius Ahénobarbus, curule ædile, on the 17th
 Plin. viii. 36. of September, gave games to the people, in which he
 caused a hundred bears of Numidia to fight with a
 hundred Ethiopian huntsmen. Pliny, who relates
 this fact, after the annals of the time, was puzzled to
 know what these bears of Numidia could be, because
 this animal, as he pretends, was unknown in Africa.

Some learned men have asserted, that they were lions, which the Romans called thus through ignorance, as they called the first elephants which they saw in the war with Pyrrhus, by the name of Lucanian oxen. But we are not to judge of the times of which we are now giving the history, by the rudeness of the more remote ages; besides, the Romans had often-times seen lions. Sylla particularly had caused a hundred to fight in the games which he gave during his Praetorship: Therefore I cannot easily persuade myself, that they could be so grossly mistaken, as to give the name of bears to lions. I leave this point to be discussed by those who are more learned than myself.

Dio has observed, that it was also in this year that the people began to leave the combats of the gladiators to go to dinner, and returned afterwards to the spectacle, which was wont till that time to continue all day without interruption. The Roman manners in polishing, weakened them in every thing; and instead of that masculine vigour which formerly appeared in all their pleasures, it was observed, that they more and more considered their ease and convenience.

Affairs

Affairs abroad afford us but little matter to treat ^{A. R. 69.} of. In Gaul there was some movement, but of no ^{Ant. C. 61.} great importance. I forbear to give an account of it till I come to speak of Cæsar's wars.

Scaurus, who had been left by Pompey in Syria, made an incursion into the territories of Arabia. As the country is bad and difficult, he would have found himself a good deal embarrassed, if Antipater, by the order of Hyrcanus, had not furnished him with those provisions that he wanted for his army. The same Antipater negotiated a treaty between Scaurus and Aretas, King of the Nabatean Arabians: And the Roman retired for a sum of money given by the Arabian. Peace was equally necessary for them both.

Quintius Cicero, the brother of the orator, having been Praetor the preceding year, when he went out of that office, had the province of Asia given to him, and continued there three years. So long an administration afforded nothing memorable, but the finest monuments that remain of it are the letters written to him by his brother during that time; particularly the first, which is known to all the world, and contains the finest maxims, and most excellent advice to all those who fill high posts. Quintius was a man very different from his brother, impetuous, fantastical, and easily provoked. It is true, he soon came to himself again, which is the sign of a good temper at bottom. But his passion was very troublesome to those who were to obey him; and his caprices and whims oftentimes exercised the patience of his brother and of Atticus, whose sister he had married.

Cicero, more than once, proposed to him the example of C. Octavius, the father of Augustus, who was Praetor this year, and who had made himself much esteemed in that employment. The family of Octavius had given many Consuls to Rome, but this Gentleman was of a branch which never had arrived at any honours. His ancestors had been always contented with the degree of Knighthood. C. Octavius, who was the first that introduced into this branch the dig-

Suet. Aug.

2, 3, 4.

Cic. ad Q.

Fr. I. 1, 2.

A. R. 69¹. dignity of Senator and Curule employments, supported the splendor of his titles by his virtue. Cicero makes an encomium on the conduct he maintained in his Praetorship. He attributes to him all the qualities of a great Magistrate, affability, mildness accompanied with a just severity, and an exact enquiry into affairs. " All * accesses were open to his tribunal, says Cicero, the Lictor never drove any one from it; the Cryer never imposed silence: Every one spoke as often and as long as he pleased. This indulgence might perhaps have seemed too great, if it had not served to make the severity he used in other cases the more approved of. Cruel and covetous men, who had enriched themselves under Sylla, by Octavius were obliged to refund, and to restore what they had unjustly and forcibly taken away. Those in the Magistracy who had made any unjust decrees, were judged by the same law. This severity might perhaps have seemed too rigorous, if it had not been tempered by many acts of humanity and indulgence."

To make an end of all that relates to Octavius, I shall add, by anticipation, that after the year of his Praetorship was expired, he was sent to govern Macedonia, where C. Antonius, the colleague of Cicero in his Consulship, had gained a very bad character. Octavius, at his departure, had it in charge to destroy some remains of the troops of Spartacus, and of the conspiracy of Catiline, which uniting together, had seized on the territories of Thurium: and he acquitted himself of this commission with success.

Being arrived in Macedonia, he gave equal proofs of his courage and his justice. He overcame, in a great battle, the Beffi and the Thracians, and received

* His rebus nuper C. Octavius jucundissimus fuit: apud quem primus Lictor quievit, tacuit accensus: quoties quisque voluit dixit, & quā voluit diu. Quibus ille rebus fortasse nimis lenis videretur, nisi hæc lenitas illam severitatem tueretur. Cogebantur fullani homines quæ per vim & metum abstulerant, reddere. Qui in Magistratibus injuriosè decreverant, eodem ipsis privatis erat jure parendum. Hæc illius severitas acerba videretur, nisi multis condimentis humanitatis mitigaretur. Cic. ad Q. Fr. I. 17.

from

A. R. 691.
Ant. C.
61,

from his soldiers the title of Imperator. The subjects of the Empire praised him very much for his administration, and he was extremely well beloved by them. Of this we have Cicero still for a voucher. He represents to his brother, who was then in the third year of his government of Afia, "that his neighbour Octavius made himself adored by the People. And yet, adds * he with grief, he had never read the Cyropedia or the Eulogium of Agesilaus by Xenophon. He was unacquainted with the examples of the great Kings, from whom, in their sovereign power, there never escaped a word or a disobliging saying." Cicero was in the right to shame his brother, who had not profited by the great knowledge he had acquired. For what purpose do study and letters serve, if they do not render us beneficent and humane?

Octavius, after having spent two years in Macedonia, returned to Rome with hopes of the Consulship, but was prevented of it by death. He had married, for his second wife, Atia, the daughter of Julia, Cæsar's sister. It was by this marriage he had Augustus, who was but four years old when his father died. I shall now resume the thread of the history.

L. AFRANIUS.

A. R. 692.

Q. METELLUS CELER.

Ant. C.
60.

The Consulship of Afranius and Metellus Celer is the famous Epoch of the Triumvirate, taken notice of by Horace †. I have already given the characters of these two Consuls. Afranius, a man without talents, without merit, rendered, in this great office, no other service to Pompey, who had placed him in

* Atque is dolor est, quod quum ii quos nominavi, (Cicero had quoted two Prætors, of whom Octavius was one) te innocentia non vincant, vincunt tamen artificio benevolentie colligendæ, qui neque Cyrum Xenophontis, neque Agesilaum noverint: quorum regum summo in imperio nemo unquam verbum ullum asperius audivit. Cic. ad Q. Tr. l. 2. 2.

† Motum ex Metello consule civicum, HOR. Od. II.

it,

AFRANIUS, METELLUS, Consuls.

A.R. 692. it, than to cover him with shame, by his uselessness
 Ant. C. 60.
 Dio. L. xxxvii. and his meanness of spirit *. Metellus, on the contrary, shewed a great deal of courage and magnanimity, and defended the public liberty with zeal. It is true Dio pretends, that this zeal was stirred up and heightened in him by the resentment he conceived against Pompey for divorcing his sister Mucia. Cicero, who often speaks of Metellus in his letters to Atticus, says nothing like this: And the authority of Dio, in my opinion, is not sufficient to degrade a conduct and actions laudable in themselves, by ascribing them to bad motives.

Cic. ad Att. I. 17, he found it in a situation very different from that in which Cicero had established it: The authority of the Senate was considerably shaken by the absolution of Clodius, and by the election of Afranius, on account of which that assembly was desirous to struggle by its decrees against canvassing, but failed in its design. Moreover the order of Knights withdrew themselves from the Senate, wrongfully no doubt; but the damage that the republic suffered by it was no less real. The severity of Cato had given occasion for this disunion of the two orders. I do not however pretend to blame his conduct, whose principle was an ardent and courageous zeal for justice.

Indeed nothing was more unjust than the pretensions of the Knights. I have already observed in another place, that though they sat in judgment with the Senators, they were nevertheless not subject to the penalty of the laws made against those Judges who suffered themselves to be corrupted. It is very likely the scandalous judgment in the case of Clodius opened men's eyes to the glaring iniquity of such an example. Cato spoke strongly upon it in the Senate, and procured a Senatus consultum and a law, which declared the penalties general against all those who being Judges should receive money of the parties. The Knights

* Magni nostri *magistrorum*. Cic. ad Att. I. 20.

dared not complain of so equitable a law, but were much mortified by it.

A. R. 692.
Ant. C.
60.

About the same time, that is to say, towards the end of the preceding year, a company of Roman Knights, who had signed a lease with the Censors for the revenues of the Commonwealth in Asia, desired of the Senate to be released from their bargain, pretending that they were hurt by it, and making no scruple to own, that the desire of gain had prompted them to make offers, and accept of conditions very burdensome to them. Cato, ever rigid against the farmers of the revenues, opposed their request; the affair was spun out for three months, and at length he carried it against them, and caused the demand of those who were interested in it to be thrown by, although supported by the solicitations of the whole order. This last stroke compleated the resentment of the Knights, and absolutely detached them from the Senate.

This was no fault of Cicero's. The union of the two orders concerned him personally, as it had been his work; and, on the other hand, he did not follow principles so severe as Cato. He even thought, that this Hero, for so he called him, was not acquainted with men or times, and reproached * him for arguing in the same manner in a company of the vicious sons of Romulus, as he would have done among the wise men of Plato's republic. For himself, although he was sensible of all the indecorum of the Knights pretensions, he assisted them, and spoke strongly in their favour; and not being able to succeed, was much grieved, not precisely for his own interest, since the Knights always continued attached to him; but because he foresaw that the Commonwealth and the Senate would lose a support that was necessary to them.

The great object of the defenders of liberty was to Plut. Pomp. & bridle the power of Pompey, which was visibly pre- Luc.

* Dicit enim tanquam in Platonis *πολιτείᾳ*, nos tanquam in Romuli face, sententiam. Cic. ad Att. II. 1.

dominating.

A. R. 69². Ant. C. 60. dominating. He pushed on at that time two important affairs. One was the confirmation of all that he had done, regulated, or ordered in the provinces of which he had had the command, in short, of all the acts of his Generalship. The other, which he had not less at heart, was a distribution of lands among the soldiers who had served under his command, and who before their establishment were as much his creatures as ever, and the supports of his power. He demanded himself the confirmation of his acts : and Flavius, a Tribune of the People, in conjunction with him, proposed the Agrarian law.

In the first article Lucullus was personally interested, all whose orders in Asia Pompey had taken a delight to change and turn upside down. This interest, assisted by the exhortations of Cato, drew Lucullus out of that supine and soft way of living to which he had given himself up. Metellus Creticus, so violently and so unworthily offended by Pompey ; and Crassus, always jealous of his greatness, joined themselves to Lucullus and Cato ; and Metellus Celer supported them with all the authority of the Consulate. Thus when they were about to debate in Senate on the confirmation of Pompey's acts, Lucullus represented to them, " that Pompey ought to render an account article by article, and demand the approbation of every one separately. That for him to expect to have all that he had done and regulated approved in the gross, without making known the particular nature of each affair, was to act like a master, and not as a citizen. That Pompey having made great alterations in what he [Lucullus] had ordained, it was but just that the Senate should judge between them, and decide whose regulations should be executed." This discourse, so equitable, was applauded ; and Pompey seeing that he had nothing to hope from the Senate, employed himself solely to get the law of Flavius to pass, thereby to gain the People, and then thought he might afterwards obtain the confirmation of his acts, which the Senate refused him.

This law was artfully enough prepared. Although A. R. 69^a. those whose work it was, made the establishment of Pompey's soldiers the principal end of it; yet, that Ant. C.
60. the People might interest themselves in it, they associated other citizens in the division of lands. But the Consul Metellus, and all those who, with him, had broke Pompey's measures in the Senate, did not with less might oppose this law.

With respect to Cicero, his conduct was without vigour, and equivocal enough throughout this whole affair. There is no mention made of him in history on the subject of the confirmation of Pompey's acts, and he says not one word of it himself in his letters to Atticus. With regard to the law, he sought a medium, by which he imagined he should satisfy every body; but it is very likely he deceived himself.

He gives an account to Atticus of the principles upon which he governed himself at that time. "In Cic. ad going out of my Consulship, says he, I maintained at first, with dignity and nobleness, the glory I had acquired in it. But when I saw the authority of good men weakened, and the Knights detached from the Senate, perceiving moreover how warm the jealousy of these voluptuaries your friends * (he means Hortensius, Lucullus, and some others) was against me; I thought I ought to procure to myself some more solid support. I am therefore closely united with Pompey: I have done so well, that I have engaged him at length to break that silence which he has so long kept on the business of my Consulship, and to declare his approbation often and openly of all that I have done for the welfare of my country. We mutually support each other, and are both the stronger for our union. I have even regained the debauched youth who had me for an object of hatred. In a word, I avoid giving offence to any one; † my con-

* Hos piscinarios dico, amicos tuos.

† Nihil jam denique à me asperum in quemquam fit, nec tamen quidquam populare ac dissolutum: Sed ita temperata tota ratio est, ut Reipublicæ constantiam præstet; privatis rebus meis, propter in-

duct

A. R. 692. duct nevertheless has nothing weak in it, nothing
 Ant. C. popular. I keep a medium, acquitting myself of
 60. what I owe to the Commonwealth, by my fidelity in
 never departing from the principles of a good citizen, and nevertheless making use of some precaution
 for my own safety, on account of the weakness of
 good men, the hatred of the bad, and the malice of
 the envious. Notwithstanding I do not give myself
 up to new friendships; and I frequently repeat to
 myself the saying of Epicharmus: " Watch, and
 " remember yourself to mistrust men: It is the nerve
 " of prudence."

Atticus oftentimes cautioned him to take care that his friendship for Pompey did not carry him too far, and engage him in some delicate affair, from which he might not be able to extricate himself with honour. Cicero protests to him in more places than one, that he would carefully ward against such danger, and even flattered himself that he should make Pompey better, by detaching him from the People, and inspiring him with more Aristocratical sentiments. He carried the delusion yet farther, and when Cæsar returned from Spain, where he was at that time, as we shall soon mention, Cicero ventured to promise himself, that he should bring him back again, at least in part, to the system of the publick good: But he was in a great error. Cæsar, and even Pompey knew better than he how to dissemble in the management of affairs. All this refined policy did but hurt his reputation, without saving him. He found that men such as Pompey were not to be satisfied with having friends by halves, indeed they want not friends but slaves: and sacrifice without pain or scruple those whom they do not find entirely devoted to their wills.

firmitatem bonorum, iniquitatem malivolorum, odium in me improborum, adhibeam quamdam cautionem & diligentiam; atque ita amem, si iis novis amicitiis implicati sumus, ut crebro mihi vafer ille siccitus infusurret Epicharmus cantilenam illam suam, Νέφες, καὶ μέλισσαι ἀρθρα ταῦτα τοῖ φίνειν. CIC. ad-Att. I. 19.

Metel-

Metellus Celer observed a conduct much clearer A. R. 69^a. and more generous; and his constancy resisted not Ant. C. only fear, which has the least power over great souls, but even a hope that might flatter his ambition. Dio. Cic.^b ad Att. I. For while the contest was warmest on the subject of & II. 14 Flavius's law, news was brought to Rome, that affairs were in disorder in Gaul, and that the Helvetii ^{19, 20.} were in arms. The Senate, to prevent the other people in Gaul from joining with them, immediately ordered an embassy, the chief of which should be a person of Consular dignity: This, as we may say *en passant*, gave room for a fresh evidence of the singular esteem of this illustrious assembly for Cicero. For the names of the Consuls being put into an urn, and his coming out first, all the Senate cried out, that he must be kept in Rome; the same was done by Pompey, whose name came out the second. So that it appeared, that they looked on these two as the pledges and supports of the safety of the State *. Metellus Créticus was destined the chief of the embassy. The same Senatus consultum ordered that the Consuls should have the two Gauls, Gallia Cisalpina and Gallia Transalpina, for their Provinces. Metellus Celer would have been charmed to have a Province, from whence he might hope for a triumph. Flavius therefore thought he had discovered his foible, and threatened to oppose his going out of Rome, and by that means deprive him of a command that was the object of his wishes, if he continued to resist the law. But this menace had no effect, and Metellus still acted with no less spirit and constancy.

Things were carried so far, and the Tribune was so much enraged, that he had the hardiness to put the Consul in prison. The Knights, discontented with the Senate, were unmoved; but the Senators performed their duty to the utmost, and would assemble, even in the prison, about the Consul. It was thus, says M. Crevier, that our ancestors saw the first court of

* Ut nos duo quasi pignora Reipublicæ retineri videremur. Cic.
ad Att. I. 19.

A. R. 692. justice in the kingdom follow their chief to the Bastile, whom a company of factious men had sent thither. Ant. C. 60. Flavius would not suffer the Senate to enter the prison, and to prevent them placed his seat before the door of it.

Metellus supported this indignity with a marvellous constancy. The other Tribunes would have taken him out of prison, but he refused to come out till Flavius himself desisted: the latter did not seem at all disposed to it, and prepared to pass the night upon the spot. But Pompey was at length ashamed of such an access, of which in reality he had been the author; he even feared a rising of the People: so that he ordered Flavius to retire, saying that Metellus had asked this favour of him. No body believed him, and he only added the stain of dissimulation and falsehood to the just reproaches he had already deserved, for trampling upon the first dignity of the Commonwealth.

Plut. Pomp. Pompey, seeing all his efforts were ineffectual, then repented that he had disbanded his army. But resolving to carry his point at any rate, as all the Aristocratical party was against him, he gave himself up more entirely than ever to the popular faction: and forgot himself so far as to ally even with Clodius, who thought in time to obtain the Tribunehip, and by the power of that to revenge himself on his enemies, especially on Cicero.

Dio Cic. ad Att. I. 18, 19. The birth of Clodius was almost an invincible obstacle to his designs. He was of Patrician race, and those of the Plebeian only could be chose Tribunes of the People. He undertook to make himself a Plebeian. To this end, he gained a Tribune, named Herennius, a man of low degree, bad principles, without fortune and without merit, who proposed to the People that Clodius should be acknowledged a Plebeian, and accounted so in the Commonwealth, as much as one who was so by birth. The Consul Metellus at first gave into this project, perhaps by surprise. But he soon returned to himself, and justly irritated against Clodius, threatened him in full Senate,

although he was his cousin-german and brother-in-law, to kill him with his own hand. The colleagues of Herennius also opposed his proposition. Nevertheless Clodius carried himself as a Plebeian, and aspired to the Tribune; but he missed of his aim for this year.

A. R. 69¹.
Ant. C.
60.

In these turbulent contests passed the Consulship of Metellus, who, at least, stopped the evil, and kept all things in suspense, till the time that Cæsar, arriving from Spain, put the last hand to what the most stirring ambition, and the strongest cabal had never been able to finish without him.

Cæsar had been Prætor two years before, as we have already mentioned, under the Consuls Silanus & Crassus. After his Prætorship he had the province of Ulterior Spain; but when he was going thither, he found himself very much embarrassed, because his creditors were preparing to stop his equipage. His luxury, his prodigalities, his ambitious largesses, had reduced him to a condition of owing more than he was worth: and he had been heard to say, that he wanted a hundred millions of sesterces (near eight hundred thousand pounds sterling) to be better than nothing. Crassus was his last resource. They had been formerly enemies; and Plutarch relates, that when Cæsar in his youth was taken by pirates, he cried out, "What joy will it be to Crassus, when he shall hear of my captivity!" Interest, at last, brought them together again; and the same motive fastened the bands of their friendship more strictly than ever, on the occasion I am speaking of. Cæsar wanted money. Crassus, who always dreaded Pompey, stood in need of the credit and activity of Cæsar to support him against a power, by which he feared to be crushed. On the other hand, he never loved or hated any body; but according as the necessity of his affairs required, he would quarrel or be reconciled with extreme facility. He therefore appeased the most importunate of Cæsar's creditors, by passing his word for him for the sum of twenty millions of sesterces. Suet. Cæs. c. 18.

A.R. 692. terces (one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds Ant. C. sterling) and thus gave him liberty to depart. As 60. soon as Cæsar found he was no longer detained, he immediately took flight, even without waiting till the Plut. Cæs. Senate had entirely settled what regarded the provinces.

In his journey Plutarch relates this remarkable saying of his, which plainly shews the furious ambition that possessed him. In passing the Alps, his friends taking notice of a little pitiful town, the inhabitants of which were in a poor and miserable condition, they asked one another in the way of pleasantry, if in that place there were any disputes about the employments, quarrels for the first rank, or jealousies among their great men. Cæsar, who heard them, said with a serious tone, “ That he would rather be the first man “ there, than the second in Rome.” The Historians report several dreams or presages, that nourished his hopes and desires. But the saying alone that I have just cited, makes it plainly appear, that he wanted no incentives but those of his own mind, to make him undertake, or dare to do any thing.

Plut. &
Dio.

Spain, at the time that he arrived there, was more peaceable than he could have desired. He sought an occasion to create a war, and found it. He gave some battles ; he took several places in Lusitania and in Gallicia ; he made a great booty, with which he enriched himself, and largely recompensed his soldiers ; from whom he received the title of Imperator, and seemed to deserve a triumph. But all these expeditions, which would perhaps have been considerable in another, were so little for Cæsar, that I shall not think it worth while to relate the slender detail which Dio has preserved of them. What I find the most worthy to be recorded, is an admirable * action of a soldier.

* Plutarch and Valerius Maximus (III. 2. 23.) report this fact in Cæsar's war against the people of Great Britain. What determines me, with Freinsheimius, to follow Dio in this place, is, that Cæsar has not spoke of this fact ; and it is not likely, that he would have omitted it in the account he gives of that war.

A. R. 692.
Ant. C.
69.

The Spaniards, vanquished by Cæsar, having retired to an island, at a little distance from the Terra Firma; Cæsar, who had no ships, could not pursue them. Nevertheless, he ordered some light boats to be built, to send a small body of troops over into the island. Some of his soldiers were disembarked on a rock, from whence they might go to the enemy; and the commander of the detachment was to support them, or take them on board again, as there should be occasion. But having been carried from them by the reflux of the tide, he left his soldiers, who were but a small number, to the mercy of the Barbarians. All were killed, except one man, whom Dio calls P. Scevius, or Sceva, and who, after having fought valiantly, all covered with wounds, threw himself into the sea, and crossed it by swimming. Cæsar, who had been a witness and spectator of the whole action, thought the soldier came to demand some recompence; but was astonished when he saw him throw himself on his knees, and, on the contrary, only begged pardon of him for returning without his arms, and particularly without his buckler. Cæsar could not but admire a soldier, who shewed so much regard to military discipline, joined to much bravery, and raised him to the rank of a Centurion.

Cæsar, victor in the war, succeeded no less in the civil government. He established good order and tranquillity among the people subjected to his authority. He remedied especially the dissensions and troubles caused by debts, by ordering that two thirds of the debtor's income should be delivered up to his creditors, till full satisfaction was made.

These different operations did not employ Cæsar quite a year. Proposing to himself all the time to obtain a triumph, and to demand the Consulship, he hastened to return, even before one was sent to succeed him.

But as the time of the election was near, there was an incompatibility between the two objects of his ambition. To demand a triumph he must have been

Suet. Plut.
Cæs. &
Cat.

A. R. 69². obliged to have continued out of Rome; and to demand the Consulship he was obliged to come into it. Ant. C. 60. He endeavoured to remove this obstacle, by having it proposed to the Senate, that they would allow of his demanding the Consulship by the ministry of his friends, without obliging him to solicit it in person. This was contrary to the established custom. However, his credit inclined several of the Senators to favour him. Cato resisted with his ordinary resolution; and fearing that his reasons might not have their desired effect, he made use of a stratagem. When he had begun to speak in the Senate, he continued talking till night; for it was not permitted to interrupt a Senator who spoke in his place, and he had the liberty to expatiate as much as he thought proper. By this artifice he disconcerted Cæsar's intrigue, who did not continue a moment in suspense; but considering the triumph as a temporary honour which might return another time, whereas the Consulship was the door that opened his way to the highest fortune, he renounced the triumph, entered into the city, and put himself among the candidates.

Dio.
Appian.
Plut. Cæs.
& Pomp.
& Crass.
Sueton.
Vell. II.
44.

Cic. Phil.
II. n. 23.

It was at this time, that he formed that league, so well known under the name of the Triumvirate, fatal to liberty, fatal to Pompey, and of which Cæsar alone gathered all the fruit. And what is very remarkable is, that while he was building up his own grandeur, and overturning the Commonwealth, he still drew applauses upon himself. Pompey and Crassus, the two most powerful citizens of Rome, were perpetually at variance, and their discord troubled the whole Commonwealth; therefore to reconcile them was an action which was very specious to outward appearance. Cicero and Cato were not mistaken in it. They conceived perfectly well, that these two powers, which, in counterbalancing one another, agitated the vessel, hindered it from oversetting by their mutual resistance; but that if ever they should be united, and both go over to one side, they could not fail of sinking it. Cicero, who had great alliances with

with Pompey, used all his endeavours to dissuade him from giving himself up to Cæsar. He succeeded very ill. He did not only prevent their union, but lost himself the friendship of Pompey.

A. R. 69².
Ant. C.
60.

Cæsar effectually attacked Pompey and Crassus, by motives that have the most power over ambitious men. "What do we do," said he to them, "by our eternal dissensions, but augment the power of the Cicero's, the Cato's, and Hortensius's? whereas as by leaguing together we may subdue them all, display our whole authority, and be alone masters of the Commonwealth."

Besides this common interest, each of the Triumvirs had his own particular object in view. Pompey would obtain the confirmation of the acts of his Consulship. Crassus, covetous to the last degree, and desirous of the first rank, but incapable of arriving at it by himself, would be raised to it by the help of his associates. Cæsar, the cunningest, as well as the most ambitious of them all, who could not get the better of them both, nor maintain a friendship with one without making the other his enemy, by reuniting them to one another, and with himself, removed all obstacles to his designs, and opened the way to his becoming all-powerful.

They made a treaty therefore, by which they promised to support one another reciprocally, and not to suffer any deliberations in the public affairs, that should be displeasing to any one of the three. They kept this treaty a secret, and concealed their good understanding as long as it was possible, even feigning on occasions that presented themselves to be of different opinions, that their conspiracy might gather strength, while there was no suspicion of it, and not break out till it was well established, and perfectly in a condition to give laws to others.

While this negotiation was carrying on, Cæsar demanded the Consulship. He had no uneasiness as to what regarded him personally, and was well assured of his own nomination. His chief aim was to get a

A. R. 692. Collegue to his mind. There were two competitors,
 Ant. C. Lucceius and Bibulus. Concerning Lucceius we scarce
 69. know any thing but what we learn from the letters
 of Cicero. He was a man who had the talent of writing,
 and succeeded so well in history, that Cicero de-
 sired to have him for the historian of his Consulship,
 and of the events that followed till his return from
 exile. All the world knows the letter which our ora-
 tor wrote to him on this subject, a famous monument,
 as M. Rollin calls it, of the eloquence, and, at the
 same time, of the vanity of its author. As to the
 Traité des
 Etudes, character of Lucceius, if we may judge by the con-
 T. II. c. 3.
 art. 4. duct we shall see he maintained, he seemed to have no
 views that were direct, nor any great superiority of
 genius in affairs. Bibulus had been at variance with
 Cæsar, from the time that they had been Ædiles to-
 gether, and moreover was a rigid defender of liberty
 and laws; strictly united with Cato, and governed
 himself by the same principles, although with less ex-
 tent and elevation of spirit. Such a companion could
 not be agreeable to Cæsar; he therefore united him-
 self to Lucceius, and as he had more credit but less
 money, it was agreed between them, that Cæsar should
 lend Lucceius the assistance of his friends, and that
 Lucceius should distribute considerable sums among
 the Tribes in the name of them both.

The principal persons in the Senate dreaded the
 Consulship of Cæsar. The manner in which he be-
 haved during his Ædile and Prætorships, made them
 apprehensive of what they might feel from him when
 he should be Consul. However, not being able to put
 him by, all their resource was to raise him up an ad-
 versary in the person of his Collegue. They all united
 therefore in favour of Bibulus, even engaging to make
 largeesses equal to those of Lucceius, and to assist
 themselves to defray the expence. In this they had
 the approbation of Cato, who was not displeased at
 these largeesses, so contrary to the laws and to good
 manners, which seemed at this time so useful to
 the Commonwealth. What times were these, when
 such men thought they could not save the state
 but

but by violating the most salutary laws! This policy A. R. 69.
succeeded. Lucceius lost his money, and Bibulus
was chose Consul with Cæsar. But Cæsar, whom no-
thing could embarrass, not being able to avoid having
Bibulus for a Collegue, found means to get the better
of him, or rather to crush him, and make him no-
thing, which I shall relate after I have given an account
of some other events of this year, which I have been
obliged to postpone.

Metellus Nepos, who was Prætor, proposed, and Dio,
got a law passed, to abolish tolls and duties to be paid
upon entering Rome and the other parts of Italy. These taxes were not very burthensome in themselves, but the vexations of those who were charged with collecting them excited great complaints. Dio assures us, that the proposition for abolishing them was universally applauded, and that nothing was displeasing therein but the person of the Legislator, who was a factious Citizen, as we have seen, and the author of seditions. He adds, that in consequence of this, the Senate would have struck his name out of the law, and have had it proposed by another; and in case the thing could not have been done thus, at least it plainly shews us, that even services and good actions cease to be agreeable when they come from bad men. For my own part, I can easily conceive, that the multitude must be charmed with this abolition of taxes, but I cannot so easily persuade myself that the Senate would approve of such a diminution of the publick revenue; and I see that Cicero complains of it in a letter to Atticus.

Faustus Sylla, who could not then be above twenty Dio.
years of age, to do honour to the memory of the Dictator his father, gave combats of the gladiators to the people; to which he joined a magnificent banquet for all the multitude, with baths, and a distribution of oil.

Lentulus Spinther, who had been at an extraordi- Plin. xix.
nary expence in the games of his Ædileship, took an opportunity this year to distinguish himself by the fame

Ant. C.
69.

Cic. ad
Att. II. 16.

A.R. 692. same taste in the Apollinarian games, of which he
 Ant. C. had the care: this proves that he was Prætor of the
 60. City. It is remarked, that he covered the upper part
 of the theatre with curtains of fine lawn, which the
 Latins called *Carbasus*, and these were improved by
 the richness and splendor of the front curtain, after the
 magnificent example that Catulus had first given in
 dedicating the Capitol. The poet Lucretius describes
 very agreeably the effect produced by these curtains,
 which were of divers colours: "When our theatres*,
 says he, are covered with curtains, some of aurora
 colour, others red, others darker, all shaking upon
 the long rods that support them, then the pit, the
 stage, men, women, and Gods, in short, every object
 seems to be tinctured with various colours, which
 move in successive undulations; and the more exactly
 the walls of the theatre are closed, the more the co-
 loured light that comes from above, spreads itself
 over every thing within, in a smiling and floating pic-
 ture."

Plin.
 xxxvi. 7. I know not whether it relates to the Ædileship or
 Prætorship of Spinther, what Pliny relates of the vases
 made of onyx stone, which he exposed to the eyes of
 the people, and which were of the bigness of barrels
 of Chio wine. These barrels [*Cadi*] might contain a
 little more than nine and thirty pints. These vases
 of Spinther seemed a wonder, but it was but for a
 little time; for five years after columns of onyx were
 seen at Rome, two and thirty feet high.

Ibid.
 xxxv. 14. C. Murena, and the learned Varro, Curule Ædiles,
 either this year or about this time, caused a piece of
 painting in fresco to be brought from Lacedemonia to

* Et vulgo faciunt id lutea, russaque vela,
 Et ferrugina, quum magnis intenta theatris
 Per malos volgata trabeisque trementia flutant.
 Namque ibi confessum caveai subter & omnem
 Scenar speciem, patrum matrumque, deorumque,
 Inficiunt, coguntque suo fluitare colore:
 Et quanto circum mage sunt inclusa theatri
 Mænia, tam magis hæc intus perfusa lepore
 Omnia conrident, conreptâ luce diei.

Rome, to adorn the public Forum, having confined A.R. 692.
the wall on which it was done in wooden boxes. This
painting was excellent, and drawed admiration; but
what surprized the most, was, that it could be trans-
ported safe and entire. Ant. C. 60.

S E C T. III.

The factious behaviour of Cæsar in his Consulship. Two customs established or renewed by him, according to Suetonius. *The Agrarian laws presented to the Senate by Cæsar.* The Senators silent. *The steadiness of Cato.* Cæsar sends Cato to prison, afterwards releases him. Declares in Senate that he will go and address himself to the People. He tries in vain to gain over his Colleague. Pompey and Crassus approve of the law publickly. The law passes maugre the generous opposition of Bibulus and Cato. Bibulus is forced to shut himself up in his own house for eight months entirely. Cæsar acts as if he was sole Consul. An oath added by Cæsar to his law. Cato refuses at first to take this oath; and afterwards submits to it. *The uncertainty of Cicero concerning the law of Cæsar.* In pleading for his Colleague Anthony, he complains of the present state of affairs; in consequence of which Cæsar brings Clodius into the order of the People. *The affair and condemnation of Anthony.* The territory of Capua distributed by virtue of Cæsar's law. Capua made a colony. Cæsar grants the Knights who farmed the public revenue in Asia the abatement they required. He gets the acts of Pompey's Generalship confirmed, and causes the province of Assyria and Gaul to be given to himself. *A bold saying of Confidius to Cæsar.* Cæsar causes the Kings Ariovistus and Ptolemy Auletes to be acknowledged friends and allies to the Commonwealth. *The avidity of Cæsar for money.* Cæsar marries his daughter to Pompey. He marries Calphurnia himself. Piso and Gabinius escape from the severity of justice by the credit of Cæsar and Pompey. *Historical anecdotes composed by Cicero.* His indignation

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sion against the Triumvirate. His sentiments with respect to Pompey. The discontent of the People against Pompey and Cæsar shews itself at the public spectacles. Cicero's reflections upon the impotent complaints of the Roman citizens. He gives himself up entirely to his pleading. He is accused, with several others, by a scoundrel fellow of having a design to assassinate Pompey. The danger which threatens Cicero on the part of Clodius. The behaviour of Pompey and Cæsar with regard to Cicero, in this conjuncture. Clodius prevents Bibulus's haranguing the People, at his going out of his Consulship.

A. R. 693.
Ant. C.
59.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR,
M. CALPURNIUS BIBULUS.

NEVER did any Tribune of the People maintain a conduct more factious, or trample the authority of the Senate under foot with more audacity, than Cæsar in his Consulship. But able to save appearances, and make use of specious pretexts, he endeavoured at first to have it believed, that the Senators were in the wrong, that it might seem as if he had been forced by them to turn himself entirely to the side of the People.

Suet. Cæs. I do not speak here of two customs, the institution or reviving of which Suetonius attributes to him, *¶ 20.* That Historian says, that Cæsar renewed the antient practice, according to which one of the two Consuls only had the fasces carried before him, the other was only preceded by a Cryer, and his Lictors followed him. There was nothing in this but what had been constantly practised since the origin of the Consulate in Rome, only the circumstance of the Lictors marching in the train of the Consul that had not the fasces. The other usage, of which Suetonius makes Cæsar the inventor, was to have a journal kept of all that passed in the Senate, in the assembly of the People, and in the City; and the design of this was, Suetonius says, that the journal being published in the provinces,

vinces, the whole Empire might know, that nothing was done, but according to the will, and by order of the Triumvirate. But this custom was ancienter than Cæsar; and we have even a fragment of a journal of the like sort, under the second Consulship of Paulus Emilius, the conqueror of Persia. I shall enter into no farther discussion of these facts.

My object is the politic intrigues of Cæsar, and his seditious enterprizes, in which we may equally observe the superiority of his genius, and the excesses of his ambition, that no respect either to the public good, nor laws, nor things, nor persons, were capable to stop him one moment in his course. He found, at his entrance into his Consulship, four great affairs, which could not be compleated under his predeces-sors: The Agrarian law, proposed by the Tribune Flavius, and supported by all the credit of Pompey; the confirmation of the rules and orders of that General; the demand made by the company concerned in the farms of Asia, and maintained by the whole order of the Knights; and lastly, Clodius's going over to the rank of a Plebeian. He made an end of them all, and in a manner contrary to the inclinātions of the Senators, and of most good men in the Commonwealth. He begun with the Agrarian law, which he did not charge any Tribune with, but took upon himself to prepare it, and proposed it in his own name, in the very beginning of his Consulship.

He presented it at first to the Senate, demanding the consent of that body to carry it afterwards to the People. He remonstrated, " that a distribution of lands among the poor citizens was altogether useful, and even necessary to deliver the city from a multitude of people with which it was overburthened, and who oftentimes gave rise to seditions; to repeople and cul-tivate several parts of Italy, which were abandoned; lastly, to recompence the soldiers who had served the Commonwealth, and give subsistence to many citizens who wanted it.

A. R. 693. **Ant. C. 59.** He added, “ that his law in particular, as he had prepared it, was very moderate, and could be no charge either to the State, or to any private persons. That in distributing the lands belonging to the Commonwealth, he had excepted the territory of Capua, which by its fertility was very valuable to the State. That for those lands that were to be bought of private persons, he had ordered, that it should be only of such as were willing to sell, and that the price should be paid for them, according to the valuation that had been made of them in the Censor’s books. That the Commonwealth could very well bear this expence, as well by the prodigious sums that Pompey had brought into the publick treasury, as by the tributes that he had imposed upon his new conquests.

“ Cæsar observed also, that he had named twenty Commissioners to preside at the distribution of the lands, a number too large to be apprehended to agree together in any thing that might be dangerous to the publick liberty. He observed, that he had excepted himself out of the number of those who might be chosen for that employment, reserving to himself only the honour of having proposed the affair: and sweetly intimated, that there were twenty honourable places, that might be agreeable to several Senators.”

He was not contented with these representations addressed to the Senate in general, but he interrogated each Senator, and enquired of every one if there was any thing in the law to be found fault with, offering to retrench those articles that should justly displease, or even entirely abandon his project, if it could be proved to be wrong.

If we believe Dio, to all these questions the Senators could not open their mouths, nor distinctly point out what was to be blamed in the law; and that which piqued them the most was, that a proposition so very disgusting to them, was not liable to any criticism. But could they not have complained of the enormous expence that Cæsar put the Commonwealth to, at the same time that he would diminish its revenues;

of

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of the tumultuous commotions that the Agrarian laws never failed of exciting among the People; and of the indecency of a Consul's taking upon him the business of the Tribunes? Could they not discover his private views, and have reproached him, as they always had all others whose example he followed, of aiming at tyranny? A reproach so much the better grounded with regard to him, as every step he had taken from his very youth had always declared that design. This silence of the Senators, if there was really such, must either have been the effect of complaisance or of fear; and not of their being unable to criticize the law that Cæsar proposed to them. But Cato, who never knew fear or complaisance, when he undertook the defence of his country, raised his voice aloud against the project of Cæsar, proving that it was not proper to disturb the public tranquillity, and saying plainly, that he did not so much apprehend the division of the lands, as the wages that would be required of the People by those who sought to inveigle them by this present.

So great an affair could not be carried in one session. It was spun out for some time, and so much the longer, as the game that the Senate played was to give hopes of their consent, and at the same time, to avoid coming to a conclusion. The activity and fire of Cæsar did not agree with these delays. He pressed the business, and endeavoured with all his might to get a decisive answer. He still found Cato in his way; wherefore, as the dispute grew warm, he took an opportunity to order him to be sent to prison, either as he thought himself offended, or, which is more likely, that he had a mind to terrify others by so signal an example. Cato made no resistance: He went out of the Senate without one word of complaint, & Cæs. but continued constantly talking against the law. Several of the Senators followed him, and, among the rest, one M. Petreius, who being asked by Cæsar why he went out before the Senate broke up, made this bold answer to him: "Because," said he, "I Dio & Val. Max. II. 10.

A. R. 693. " had rather be with Cato in a prison, than with you
 Ant. C. " in the Senate." Cæsar was struck with this saying:
 59. He saw, at the same time, in every one's countenance
 an air of indignation against the violence he had of-
 fered Cato; he also feared what effect the respect for
 the virtue of so great a person so unworthily treated
 might have upon the People. He could have wished,
 that Cato would have asked his pardon; but not dar-
 ing to hope for that, he appointed a Tribune, who by
 his office set him at liberty.

The principal affair was not pursued with less vi-
 gour; and Cæsar calling the Senators to witness, that
 he had used his utmost endeavours to gain their ap-
 probation, " Since you constrain me to it," added he,
 " I am going to have recourse to the People." He
 kept his word; and not only in this affair, but in all
 others that presented themselves, he no longer con-
 sulted the Senate: but even, at that time, made an
 alteration in his law, that rendered it much worse and
 more disagreeable to the Senators, by taking in the
 territory of Capua, which he had at first excepted
 out of it.

He was willing, however, to keep some measures
 with his Colleague, to whom he had already, at the
 commencement of his Consulship, made some civil
 advances. As they were both upon the Tribunal of
 Harangues together, he asked him if he found any
 thing exceptionable in his law. Bibulus, without en-
 tering into any detail, only answered that he should
 oppose all innovations. Cæsar insisted upon it, and
 exhorted the People to soften his Colleague by their
 prayers. " It is upon him," said he to the multitude,
 " that your satisfaction depends: If he consents, you
 " will have the law." Bibulus, so far from lowering
 his stile, replied still more roughly; and addressing
 himself to the People, " Although you would have
 " all the law," said he, " you shall have no part of
 " it as long as I am Consul."

Dio Plut.
 Cæs. &
 Pomp.

Cæsar exposed himself no more by interrogating any
 of the Magistrates. He produced Pompey and Cras-

sus

sus before the People, and they were sure of applauding a project that had been concerted with them ; but their conspiracy was not yet very well known. Pompey explained himself, in the most favourable manner, for the law ; he ran it over, and commended every article, pretending it was highly just that the citizens should partake of the opulence of the State. The People were charmed. Cæsar, who without doubt had prepared all this scene with his associates, raised his voice, and said to Pompey, " Since you approve of the law, I desire to know, if you will support it, in case those who are against it should use violence to hinder its being received." And at the same time he invited the People to beseech it of Pompey. There was something not a little flattering to Pompey, then but a private man, to see the Consul and the People imploring his support. The vanity occasioned by this made him use a language more haughty, more opposed to republican principles, and more threatening, than he had ever done before. " If they come," said he, " with the sword to oppose the law, I will come to support it with sword and buckler." This saying was received with acclamations of applause by the multitude ; but it extremely exasperated all the better sort, who thought his manner of speaking and thinking was more becoming an audacious young man than that of one of the first citizens of the Commonwealth. Crassus shewed himself to be of the same sentiments with Pompey and Cæsar, and this union of three persons so powerful made it appear to the clear-sighted, that any resistance to the law would be ineffectual.

Bibulus was not to be discouraged by this, but, supported by three Tribunes and Cato, continued with an invincible constancy to oppose his Colleague. At last, after having tried every other resource, he took the method of declaring every day a holiday for the remaining part of the year, which was to hinder all deliberations of the People. We have seen that Sylla, in his first Consulship, made use of the same

A. R. 693. stratagem against the Tribune Sulpicius ; but that
Ant. C. Tribune forced him to revoke his ordinance. Cæsar
59. did more, he laughed at the edict of his Colleague, went on as if no such thing had happened, and named a particular day for the People to give their suffrages for the law : and Pompey, according to the declaration he had made in full assembly, filled the city with armed men.

Bibulus, it seemed, could not be there ; he had only wasted himself in fruitless endeavours. It was not even allowed him to call together the Senate, for Cæsar had prevented it. He held in his own house a little Council of the principal Senators, and there it was resolved, that he should go to the assembly of the People, that it might not be said that he had receded, but was overcome ; and that if the law passed, as they did not doubt but it would, that it was from any negligence of his, but from an outrageous violence of his Colleague.

He came accordingly while Cæsar was haranguing. All the avenues to the Forum were filled by the attendants on the Triumvirs, armed with poniards under their gowns, and posted in divers places the night before. When Bibulus appeared, accompanied by Lucullus and Cato, the passages were opened to him, as well in respect to his dignity, as because several flattered themselves that he would give up his opposition. But as soon as he had opened his mouth, to testify that he would always persevere in the same sentiments, a most dreadful tumult ensued ; and Cæsar was not ashamed to deliver up his Colleague to the incensed mob, who threw a pannier of filth upon his head, dragged him with violence to the steps of the temple of Castor, and broke the fasces of his Lictors. Several of those who were with Bibulus were wounded ; and, among others, two Tribunes of the People. In the midst of so horrible a disorder, and so imminent danger, Bibulus shewed a resolution worthy of admiration. He uncovered his throat, and invited the attendants on Cæsar to strike there, crying out with

with a loud voice, “ Since I cannot teach Cæsar to be A.R. 693.
 an honest man, my death at least may serve to draw Ant. C.
 down the vengeance of heaven upon him, and ren- Appian.
 der him detestable to all men.” While he spoke
 thus, his friends took hold of him, and carried him
 into the temple of Jupiter Stator. Civil. L. II. 59.

I do not know whether it was upon this occasion, that Vatinius, a Tribune of the People, entirely devoted to the will of Cæsar, undertook to put Bibulus in prison. He had already prepared a sort of bridge from the Tribunal of Harangues to the gate of the prison, upon which he would have carried him along; but the other Tribunes having opposed this violence, Cic. id. Vatin. which very likely was not approved by Cæsar, the thing went no farther. This Vatinius was a man equally worthy of hatred and contempt, without birth, without manners, the shame and disgrace of Rome. Such are the tools that are fit for ambitious men like Cæsar.

After Bibulus had been thus removed, Cato still continued in the place; but, being then only a private man, had no other arms than his courage and his virtue. Twice he advanced to the middle of the Assembly, speaking with all the vehemence imaginable; and twice Cæsar's People took him by the waist, and carried him out of the Forum. At length the coast was clear to Cæsar, and the law was authorized by the suffrages of the People.

The next day the Senate being assembled, Bibulus carried his complaints thither: But fear had damped all their courage; and this zealous but unfortunate Consul, seeing himself destitute of all support, and all resource, was reduced to shut himself up in his own house, during all the remaining part of his Consulship, that is to say, for eight months entirely, exercising no one function of his office, except it was, that he oftentimes ordered placarts to be fixed up in Dio. Suet. Cic. iii. Rome against the tyranny of the Triumvirs; and farther, every time Cæsar undertook any thing that was new, he caused his ordinance to be published, by Vatin.

A. R. 693. which he had converted every day of the year into a
 Ant. C. holiday; but he could not enjoy this little piece of
 59. revenge in safety, for the same Vatinus, who would have imprisoned him, sent one of his Serjeants to take him out of his house by force, had not the assistance of the other Tribunes rescued him from the danger.

Dio. & Suet. All the functions of the Consulate fell to Cæsar alone, who acted as if he had been without a Colleague; which gave room for the pleasantries of some, who distinguished the year of which we are speaking, not after the common usage, by the names of the two Consuls, Cæsar and Bibulus, but by the two names only of Cæsar, saying, It was in the year of the Consulship of Julius and of Cæsar.

Plut. Cat. Cic. pro Sext. n. 61. He was not satisfied with having got his law to pass; but by the example of the seditious Saturninus, he joined an oath to it, which he obliged all the people to take, and even subjected the Senate to it under very great penalties: a new subject of discontent and quarrel. Three Senators at first refused to submit to this oath; Metellus Celer, who would revive the example of Metellus Numidicus's constancy; Cato; and Favonius, who strove to imitate Cato, but fell very far short of so excellent an original. Not any one of the three held out to the last. Cato, though pressed by his wife and his sisters, who conjured him, with tears in their eyes, to yield to necessity, would yet, it is very likely, have resisted these domestic assaults, if Cicero had not persuaded him to it, by representing to him, "that if it might be even justifiable for a single person to oppose what was done and regulated by the whole Nation, yet it must be acting like a madman to be willing to throw one self down a precipice when the evil was done, and could admit of no alteration or remedy." "To con-
 " clude," added he, "after having always laboured
 " for the good of your Country, how can you aban-
 " don it at this time, and give it up as a prey to its
 " enemies, thinking only of your own repose, and
 " seeking, as it seems, how to withdraw yourself
 " from

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“ from the battle that ought to be maintained for its service? For * if Cato has no need of Rome, Rome has need of Cato. All your friends unite to conjure you not to be inflexible, and myself the first of all, to whom you cannot refuse your succour in the present conjuncture, when Clodius aspires at the Tribuneship for my destruction.” These reasons convinced Cato, and he took the oath, but last of every one, except Favonius, who would not swear till he had.

Cæsar extended the obligation of the oath to the candidates who should demand the employments for the following year. He prepared a form by which they were to engage themselves, with most terrible imprecations, to make no innovations to the prejudice of what his law had determined concerning the distribution and possession of the lands of Campania. M. Juventius Leterensis, a man distinguished by his birth, and still more by his merit, chose rather to renounce his pretensions to the employment of the Tribune of the People, than to take this oath: but he was the only one who did so.

I do not see that Cicero had any other share in what passed on the subject of the Agrarian law, than what I have just observed, in speaking of his solicitations with Cato. When this affair began to be put in motion, Cicero examining with Atticus the three parties which he might take, either to resist it with courage, or keep a kind of neutrality, or favour it, shews what the care of his reputation exacted from him. “ Let us remain neuter,” said he, “ as if buried in a house in the country. Cæsar hopes I will second him, and he invites me to it. See the advantages I shall gain by taking this party; the friendship of Pompey, and even that of Cæsar, if I desired it; a reconciliation with my enemies; the peace of the multitude; and the assurance of quiet in my old

* Non offert se ille (Cato) istis temeritatibus, ut quum Reipublicæ nihil profit, se civi Rempublicam privet. Cic. pro Sext. n. 61.

A. R. 693. " age: but after the conduct I have maintained in my
 Ant. C. " Consulship, and the principles that I have esta-
 59. " blished in my writings, ought not my rule to be this
 " maxim of Homer, 'The best * of all counsels is to
 " defend one's country ?'

Cic. pro
 Domon. 41. n. 34.
 37. About the same time Anthony, his Colleague in the Consulship, was accused, at his arrival from Macedonia, where he had been Proconsul. Cicero had no reason to be satisfied with him, nevertheless he defended him. In his pleading he ventured at making some complaints against the actual state of affairs, and against the triumviral league. Cæsar had his revenge at hand. Clodius for a long time had desired to make himself a Plebeian, but could not succeed according to rule. One Fonteius, a Plebeian, adopted him, and thereby introduced him among the People; but the concurrence of public authority was necessary for him, which he had not hitherto been able to obtain. Cæsar, offended at the liberty that Cicero had taken, lent Clodius his assistance. He caused a law to pass, which was wanting to confirm the adoption, and presided himself in the assembly of the Curia called together for this purpose. There was occasion for the ministry of one of the Augurs, Pompey performed this office, and all was ended with a surprizing dispatch. Cicero pleaded at noon, and at three o'clock Clodius was a Plebeian. This adoption was but a farce, that had nothing serious in it. Fonteius was married, and younger than the man he adopted. Moreover, as he acquired over his adopted son the rights of paternal power, which were very extensive among the Romans; that Clodius might not be restrained thereby, and still continue master of his person and his actions, as he had been before, Fonteius no sooner adopted, but he emancipated him. Clodius nevertheless was no less a Plebeian, and eligible to the office of a Tribune of the People. I imagine that this was the terror that Cicero conceived, when

Cic. ad
 Att. II. 12.

* Εἰς ἑταῖρος ἀπόστολον αὐτοῦ πιπὶ πάτερες. Hom. Il. M. 243.

he saw his enemy in a condition to hurt him, which A.R. 693.
determined him to be silent with regard to Cæsar's
law; and afterwards, ashamed of acting as a mute,
what made him, when the business was finished, re-
tire into the country, where he continued some time. Ant. C.
59.

I am obliged to run slightly over the accusation of Dio.
Anthony, that I may keep in view what I have entered
upon concerning Cicero. This fact, however, is
worth stopping for a little. Anthony being Procon-
sul of Macedonia, had troubled the subjects of the
Empire, and suffered them to be beat by their ene-
mies, the Dardanians, the Bastarnæ, and other bar-
barous People. At his return to Rome he was brought
to justice by three accusers, one of whom was M. Cæ-
lius, a young man of much spirit, who became a great
Orator, but a turbulent citizen. The accusation was
not on account of Anthony's bad conduct in his Pro-
vince: He was prosecuted as an accomplice of Catil-
line, he who had put the finishing stroke to the con-
spiracy by the battle of Pistorium. What was singu-
lar in this was, that the accusers spoke true. An-
THONY had dipped into that conspiracy of which he
had been the avenger. The Judges condemned him;
so that, according to the observation of Cicero *, the
remembrance of the great services he had done the
Commonwealth was of no advantage to him, and he
was punished for an ill will that had no effect. The Cic. pro
sentence that was passed upon him was a subject of Flacco,
triumph for the remains of Catiline's party, who n. 95.
thought their Chief revenged by the condemnation of
him who had finished his destruction. They signalized
their joy by a feast which they celebrated about the
tomb, or Cenotaph, of this enemy of his country.
They gathered there in great numbers, decked it
with flowers, and had a large banquet there. Strabo Strabo L.
assures us that Anthony chose the Isle of Cephalenia X. p. 455.
for the place of his exile, of which he got the entire

* Cui misero præclaris in Rem publicam beneficii memoria nihil pro-
fuit, nocuit opinio maleficii cogitati. Cic. Pro Cæl. n. 74.

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A. R. 693. demesne, and in which he built a new city, but had
 Ant. C. 59. not time to make an end of it, being recalled from
 exile, before he had put the last hand to the work.
 If this fact be true, Anthony must have enriched him-
 self extremely in his government, that is to say, he
 must have thoroughly plundered his Province; for
 we have seen that he was over head and ears in
 debt during his Consulship.

Freinsh.
CIII. 93.

Cic. ad
Att. II. 12.
Suet. Aug.
C. 4.

Cic. ad
Att. II. 19.

Cic. ad
Att. IX. 2.

Vell. II.
44:

Cæsar having caused his law to be received, thought
 immediately how to have it executed. I find only
 the territory of Capua distributed by virtue of this law.
 That territory was destined to fathers of families,
 who should have three children or more. There were
 twenty thousand found in this condition. Twenty
 Commissioners were chosen to preside at this distribu-
 tion, and Pompey, entirely devoted to the will of Cæ-
 sar, did not disdain to accept of this commission, with
 partners in it undoubtedly not of his rank; among
 others M. Atius Balbus, Cæsar's brother-in-law, and
 grandfather of Augustus, but otherwise does not ap-
 pear to have been a man of any great consequence.
 Among these twenty Commissioners was also one Cos-
 conius, who died before the end of the year; and his
 place was offered to Cicero, but he refused it. He
 thought there was no great honour in being invited to
 fill up the place of a Person who was dead; and on
 the other hand it would have much sullied his past
 glory, without bringing any great advantage to him.
 This employment would not have screened him from
 the persecution of Clodius. Cæsar was very much
 offended at this refusal, and afterwards oftentimes re-
 proached Cicero with it, as a strong proof of his en-
 mity, in that he would receive no favour from his
 hand.

The twenty Commissioners established a Colony at
 Capua, and thus drew that city out of the subjection
 in which the Romans had kept it for an hundred and
 fifty years. They had all that time bore the punish-
 ment of their revolt against Rome after the battle of
 Cannæ, and had continued without Senate, without

Magi,

A.R. 693.
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59.

Magistrates, and without an Assembly of the People. It was only the retreat of those who cultivated the territory, and every year an officer was sent from Rome to do justice there. Raised by Cæsar to the rank of a colony, it was delivered from this kind of servitude. The Roman colonies were like little Commonwealths, which governed themselves in imitation of Rome their metropolis.

This alteration in the condition of Capua, was no ill in itself. Rome was from this time arrived at too great a degree of power to fear a rival. But it was a real loss to the public treasure, to have the territory of this city distributed among private persons. These lands, the most fruitful of all Italy, having been confiscated after the taking of Capua, belonged to the Commonwealth, and those who cultivated them were no other than the farmers of them. The loss of this revenue therefore impoverished the State, which had already just suffered a considerable diminution in its finances by the abolishing the duties on tolls and entrances.

Cæsar having made his court to the people by the Agrarian law, was willing also to gain the affection of the Knights. He thought he had found an opportunity of doing it, in the affair of the farmers of the revenues belonging to the Commonwealth in Asia, who had for a long time, desired an abatement to no purpose. He allowed it them, and lessened the price of their lease one third part. But his conduct was so odious, and so tyrannical, that he could not make himself beloved, even by those on whom he conferred favours. Cicero informs us, that Cæsar coming into the theatre, at the publick games, the Knights never moved to him, nor gave him any mark of applause: Whilst, on the contrary, they rose up to applaud young Curio, who took upon him to decry the Triumvirs, and who associated with other young persons of the first quality, in a design of rising against them, and, if possible, to destroy their power.

Suet. Cæf.
Dio. Cic.
ad Att. II.
19.

A. R. 693. The People groaned under it; but the Triumvirs
 Ant. C. had the power in their own hands. Cæsar, having
 59. got rid of his Colleague, who dared not any longer
 appear, acted in every thing as absolute master of the
 Commonwealth. He caused the acts of Pompey's
 Generalship to be ratified, the confirmation of which
 could not be obtained the year before. And Lucul-
 lus having dared still to make some resistance, he in-
 timidated him so much, by threatening him with all
 sorts of oppressions and troubles, that this great man,
 who began to abate somewhat in his former vigour,
 threw himself upon his knees to ask his pardon. He
 brought in divers laws, some of which contained use-
 ful regulations concerning crimes which wounded the
 majesty of the Empire, concussions and others. He
 took care that the government of the provinces should
 be given to his friends, or to such as he thought so;
 and not forgetting himself, he took the command of
 Illyria and Cisalpine Gaul, with three legions, for five
 years. This command was bestowed upon him by
 the People, at the request of the Tribune Vatinius.

Pigh.
Ann.

Freins.
CIII. 96.

Cic. pro
Cæl. n. 59.

This was already very much, and Cæsar might ap-
 plaud himself, for having rendered the precaution of
 the Senate ineffectual, who, even before he entered
 upon his office, had destined for him and his Colleague
 the idle provinces, the clearing forests, and the mak-
 ing roads. But, in the mean time, Metellus Celer,
 who had the province of Transalpine Gaul, dying,
 not without suspicion of being poisoned by his wife
 Clodia, Cæsar laid hold of the occasion to increase his
 power, and render his victory over the Senate com-
 pleat. He forced this body to improve upon what
 the People had given him, by adding another legion
 with Transalpine Gaul. The Senators, cast down
 and discouraged, chose rather that he should have
 this augmentation of his power from them, than that
 he should again fly to the People to obtain it, and
 thereby lose their right of settling and bestowing the
 governments of the provinces: A right which be-
 longed to them from all antiquity, and which had
 been

been confirmed to them even by a law of C. Grac. A.R. 693.
Ant. C.
chus.

59.

Notwithstanding this complaisance of the Senate, the discontent of its members could not help shewing itself, by the greatest part of them absenting themselves from the assemblies, which grew very thin. Cæsar complaining of this one day, Q. Confidius, a Senator very much advanced in years, told him that they absented themselves because they feared his arms and his soldiers. "And why then," answered Cæsar, does "not the same fear keep you at home?" "Because," replied Confidius with freedom, "the small remains "of life I can hope for, are not worthy my care." Plut. Cæs.

These sorts of reproaches, without doubt, mortified Cæsar, but they did not prevent his continuing to deserve them. The views of his ambition even carried him beyond the bounds of the Empire; and that he might attach foreign Kings to him, he caused Ariovistus King of the Suevii in Germany, and Ptolemy Auletes King of Egypt, to be acknowledged friends and allies of the Roman People. It is remarkable that Cæsar had formerly looked upon Ptolemy as illegitimate, and as the usurper of a Kingdom that belonged to the Romans, wherefore he had made interest for a commission to be sent with troops to dethrone him; and now this same Cæsar causes him to be acknowledged King by the Senate and People of Rome: But ambition was not the only principle of this management; interest had a great share in it. Cæsar drew from Ptolemy Auletes as well in his own name as that of Pompey, six thousand talents, Suet. Cæs. c. 54. or nine hundred thousand pounds sterling.

It is true Cæsar did not covet money to hoard it up; but, on the contrary, plentifully dispersed it, that by his enormous profusions he might facilitate the executions of his vast designs. And this is a proof how much ambition, which passes with some for a noble and exalted passion, is united with the most shameful covetousness, that makes men commit the meanest actions. History does not only reproach

Cæsar

A. R. 695. Cæsar with having sold his protection to an Egyptian
 Ant. C. King, but accuses him of actions still more unworthy,
 59. as of having stole, during his Consulship, three thousand pounds weight of gold out of the Capitol, and putting the like weight of gilt copper in its place. And all the rest of his life, both in Gaul and other places, that it was by rapine and manifest sacrileges, that he found wherewithal to defray the immense expences of his extravagant ambition.

*Plut. Cæf.
 & Pomp.
 Dio, Suet.
 Cæf.* Cæsar was at this time closely leagued with Pompey ; but he was soon to be separated from him for a long while, since at his going out of his Consulship he was to depart for Gaul. He dreaded the inconveniences of his absence. Pompey might grow cool with regard to him, and lend his ear to the discourses of several People who would not fail to endeavour to detach him from his friendship ; and might conceive a jealousy himself, if Cæsar became great enough to give him umbrage. A marriage cemented their union. Cæsar marries Julia, his only daughter, to Pompey, whom he had by Cornelia his first wife. Julia was promised to Servilius Cepio. Cæsar comforted him by persuading Pompey to give him his daughter, who was to have been married to Faustus Sylla. Thus Pompey became the son-in-law of him, whom he had often, in the anguish of his soul, called his * Ægisthus ; for Cæsar was supposed to have corrupted Mucia, as I have said elsewhere. After this alliance, Cæsar transferred to Pompey an honour which till then had been given to Crassus ; he caused him to be acknowledged the Chief of the Senate, and that contrary to the established custom, of the person's preserving that distinction for the whole year to whom it had been granted on the first of January. Cæsar made a sort of excuse to Crassus, by rendering an account to the Senate of the motive that determined him to this innovation.

* Pompey alluded to what the Poets relate of Clytemnestra's being corrupted by Ægisthus during the absence of Agamemnon.

Desirous to procure supports from all sides, he married himself Calphurnia, the daughter of Piso, whom the Triumvirs destined for the Consulship the year following. This precaution seemed so much the more necessary to Cæsar, as, according to the resolutions taken among themselves, Gabinius, the everlasting flatterer of Pompey, was to be Consul with Piso. By all these marriages the publick affairs, the interests of the state, were openly trafficked for, as Cato complained with great strength of argument, but without any success.

Neither Piso nor Gabinius were worthy of the supreme dignity, to which they were exalted by favour. Their conduct in their Consulship sufficiently proved it. But before they obtained it, they were both accused, and neither of them saved by his innocence.

Piso was returned from the government of a Province, where he had harrassed the subjects of the Commonwealth by all kinds of rapine and extortion. Clodius, a worthy avenger of offended laws, declared himself his accuser. The process was made out, and several of the Judges seemed to act with severity. Piso prostrated himself upon the earth, and kissed their feet to endeavour to move them; and as a great shower of rain fell at that instant *, his face was all covered with mud. The judges were touched with this humiliation, according to Valerius Maximus: but it is more likely, that the credit of Cæsar contributed much more to the absolution of the man, who either was, or going to be his father-in-law.

Gabinius did not see himself in so much danger, because the protection of Pompey screened him from it. After he had been appointed Consul, a young man of the family of the Cato's would have accused him of canvassing; but the Prætors eluded his pursuits, by avoiding to give him audience, and always sending him away on divers pretexts. This Cato was a

* The court of justice was in the publick Forum, and the tribunals in the open air.

A. R. 693. rash young man, who would keep no measures. Out-
Ant. C. rageous to see himself thus trifled with, he mounted
59. the Tribunal of Harangues, and complained bitterly
against Pompey, treating him as a private man who
played the Dictator. There needed no more to move
those who heard him: he expected to have perished
by their hands, and it was not without great difficulty
that he saved his life, by flying away with all the speed
that he was able. Cicero with good reason says, that
this fact alone shewed, that there was no longer a
Commonwealth, and that all was lost.

I have already said, that Cicero had retired into
the country about the middle of April. He passed
several weeks there at leisure, but not without great
agitation of mind. The publick affairs, his own
danger, took up all his thoughts, and excited in him
Cic. ad very lively motions of grief and indignation. Not
Att. II. 6. being able to remedy the evils of the State, he under-
Lib. xiv. adAtt. 17. took to paint them in an anecdotal history, wherein he
would give a free scope to his reflections, and spare
nobody. He executed this design, and the following
years furnished him but with too much matter to en-
rich it. He yet spoke of it in the last year of his
life, in a letter to Atticus, who was the only person
he intended should be permitted to read it. There is
very good reason to believe, that this work is the same
wherein he gives "the exposition of his counsels and
of his conduct," and which is mentioned by Asconius
Ascon. in Tog.
Cand. &
Dio, L.
xxxix. Pedianus and Dio. Dio says, that Cicero kept it a
secret all his life-time, and that he gave it sealed up
to his son, forbidding him to read or publish it before
his death. We have it not, and cannot sufficiently
regret the loss of a piece of history from so good a
hand, of which the subject was so curious and so inter-
esting.

Cicero's indignation against the Triumviral league
was extreme, but the carelessness of Pompey, and the fear
of danger, hindered him from shewing it. He was
therefore reduced to the necessity of those impotent
complaints only, which he constantly made in all his
letters

A. C. 693.
Ant. C.
59.

Letters to Atticus. He incessantly repeated, that all was overthrown, and that there no longer remained any hope of liberty either for private persons, or even for the magistrates themselves. He affected to rejoice, that he was excluded from all share in the government, and was desirous to comfort himself with philosophy. He would not have been sorry to have had one of those free embassies, as the Romans called them, by which a Senator was allowed to absent himself, and go with a title of honour wherever he would. He would have made his advantage of it, by going into Egypt and to Alexandria : But he scorned to owe any thing to the Triumvirate, or to receive any favours from them, which might give room to the partizans of the aristocracy, and especially to Cato, to accuse him of inconstancy and levity. And, nevertheless, so much weakness is to be found in the greatest minds ! at this very time Metellus Celer dying, as I have said before, and leaving the place of one of the Agurs vacant, Cicero not only desired it, but confessed * to Atticus, that That was the way by which the Triumvirs could gain him. He was sensible how much this manner of thinking was beneath him, and blushed for it : but vanity and ambition had so strong a power over his heart, that he was ready to sacrifice his glory to the vain splendor of this place. Nothing of this took place : he was neither Ambassador nor Augur ; but returned to Rome, always a friend to Pompey, but always an enemy to the oppression of which Pompey was the author.

When I call him the friend of Pompey, it is without being willing to exclude the sentiments of distrust, jealousy, and sometimes of choler, which Cicero successively shewed with regard to him. But all this passed, I know not how, with a serious, and even a tender attachment to him. I cannot resolve to deprive the reader of a pleasure I have tasted, by comparing the different places of the letters to Atticus,

* Quo quidem uno ego ab ipsis capi possum. Vide levitatem meam.
wherein

A.R. 693. wherein Cicero opens his heart to another self with regard to Pompey.
Ant. C. 59.

Sometimes he pulls him down, and his vanity flattered by the injury that Pompey does to his own reputation, by the tyrannical conduct he maintains. " I behold, says he, all that passes with indifferent eyes. I even confess *, that the foible which I have for praise and for glory (for it becomes a gallant man not to be blind to his own faults) finds its advantage in the opprobrium with which Pompey is loaded. I had some slight uneasiness to think that a thousand years hence his services to his country might be thought greater than mine. He has done all that is necessary to rid me of that fear."

In another place he threatens him, and doubting with reason of the assurances that Pompey had given him, that Clodius should undertake nothing against him; " I † would give any thing, says he, that the engagements made with me may not be observed. Then our conqueror || of Jerusalem, who lent his ministry to Clodius to make him a Plebeian, shall be made sensible of the ingratitude with which he has repayed the praises that I have bestowed upon him in my orations. Expect in this case to see the most stinging recantation."

After these transports of anger, Cicero returned to sentiments of a hearty and sincere affection. Towards the middle of the Consulship of Cæsar, the Triumviral league was universally detested. The great men and

* Quin etiam quod est subinane in nobis, & non *agrestis* (bellum est enim sua vitia nosse) afficitur quādam delectatione. Solebat enim me pungere, ne † Sampicerami merita in patriam ad sexcentos annos majora viderentur quād nostra. Hāc quidem curā certè jam vacuisse est.

† Si verò, quæ dē me pacta sunt, ea non servantur, in ecclō sum ut sciat hic noster Hierosolymans traductor ad plebem, quād bona meis purissimis orationibus gratiam retulerit: quarum exspecta diuinam *παλαιοδιαιτην*.

|| It was through derision that Cicero thus named Pompey. The Romans, and Cicero particularly, had an extreme contempt for the Jews.

‡ This is one of the names that Cicero gives Pompey in his letters to Atticus. It was that of a little tyrant vanquished by Pompey in Syria,

JULIUS, CALPURNIUS, Consuls.

81

A. R. 693.
Ant. C.
59.

the people revenged themselves by discourses. The multitude followed the Triumvirs with hissing; Gentlemen took them to pieces in their entertainments; and the murmuring was general throughout all Italy. Bibulus set up edicts or proclamations in Rome in the most biting style against Cæsar and Pompey. And see how Cæsar explains himself in this situation of affairs.—* “ Our friend, who was never accustomed to ignominy, but constantly filled with praises, who was all surrounded and beaming with glory, now dispirited, and even carrying the marks of his humiliation in his outward form, knows not what party to take. To go forward, would be to throw himself down a precipice; to draw back would be inconstancy. Good men are his enemies, and he is not beloved by the bad. See how weak I am; I was not able to restrain from tears, when I saw him harangue the people on the twenty-fifth of July, and make his apology against the placards of Bibulus. He who formerly appeared with splendor on the Tribunal of Harangues, beloved by the people even to adoration, applauded y all, how little and how mean did he appear at the time I am speaking of! How much pity did he draw to himself and others! O spectacle; that could rejoice

* Ille amicus noster, in solens infamiæ, semper in laude versatus, circumfluens gloriâ, deformatus corpore, fractus animo, quod se constat nescit. Progressum præcipitem, redditum inconstantem videt: non inimicos habet, improbos ipsos non amicos. Ac vide mollitatem non tenui lacrymas, quum illum ante octavum Kal. sextiles di de edictis Bibuli concionantem. Qui antea solitus esset jactare se magnificenter illo in loco, summo cum amore populi, cunctis fabribus, ut ille tum humili, ut demissus erat! ut ipse eriam sibi, non solum qui aderant displicebat! O spectaculum uni Crasso jucundum! Ut Apelles, si venerem, ut si Protogenes Jalysum illum suum ceeno solitum videret, magnum, credo, acciperet dolorem; sic ego hunc amibus à me pictum & politum artis coloribus, subito deformatus in fine magno dolore yidi. Quanquam nemo putabat, propter modianum negotium, me illi amicum esse debere: tamen tantus fuit dolor, ut exhaustiri nullâ posset injuria. Itaque archilochia in illum dicta Bibuli populo ita sunt jucunda, ut eum locum ubi proponuntur, & multitudine eorum qui legunt, transire nequeant; ipsi ita acerba, tabescat dolore; mihi mehercule molesta, quod et eum, quem semper dilexi, nimis excruciant, & timeo tam vehemens, vir, tamque er in ferro, & tam infuetus contumeliae, ne omni animi impetu donec & iracundie pareat.

VOL. VIII.

G

nōne

A. R. 693. none but Crassus ! * For my own part, I was pierc
 Ant. C. with grief : and even as Apelles or Protogenes, if the
 59. were to see the chief master-pieces of their pencils cov
 ered with mud, would, I believe, be much afflicted : so I cannot, without a sensible concern, see him whom I have taken pleasure to paint in all the most beautiful colours of eloquence, on a sudden dishonoured and made contemptible. No-body thinks that after the part he took in the affair of Clodius, I ought to be still his friend : but my love for him is so great that no offence on his side can tear me from him. The edicts of Bibulus, which are truly defamatory libels, give so much pleasure to the people, that it is difficult to pass by the places where they are set up, the crowd is so great of those who stop to read them. Pompey is in despair, and lost in grief ; and I am mortified as much because they too violently afflict the man I have always loved, as because I apprehend that one so high, trained up from his infancy in arms, and little accustomed to affronts, may from his great spirit give himself up to resentment and revenge."

What I have said, after Cicero, of the prodigious hissing at Cæsar and Pompey, may seem very strange, but the liberty, or rather licentiousness, was carried much farther at the representation of a tragedy, when one of the actors pronounced a verse, with a visible allusion to Pompey, the scene of which was, + “ His
 “ is for our misfortune that you are become great. The People, sensible of the application, applauded it, and obliged the player to repeat the same verse about a hundred times. The same sport was renewed several times in the piece, which seemed to be made on purpose for Pompey. As in the following passage, “ There + will come a time when you shall severely
 “ regret that virtue, which has hitherto been your

* Cicero supposes, with probability enough, that Crassus, to win the glory of Pompey always gave umbrage, would feel a malignant joy to see him dishonoured and covered with shame.

+ *Nostrā miteriā tu es magnus.*

† *Eamdem virtutē iitam, veniet tempus, quum graviter gen-*

“ glor-

glory, and which you have now abandoned." A.R. 69.
if the Cæsar was no more spared than the other: and on the
ils contrary, young Curio, who had shewed himself a de-
dicted enemy of the triumviral league, received ap-
plause on all sides.

This universal reviling, which wrought no change
in the state of affairs, caused Cicero to make sorrowful reflections. "It is a * subject, not of hope, but
of grief, says he to Atticus, to see the tongues of our
great citizens at liberty, and their arms chained." And in
another letter he repeats the same complaints with
more extent. "The Republic, says he; + perishes
by a kind of illness which is without example: The
present government draws upon it the dislike, the
complaints, and the murmurs of all the world. There
is no variety on this subject; every one speaks aloud;
all complain openly; and yet no one can propose
any remedy to the ills that press us. It is very true,
that resistance in all likelihood would bring on a gene-
ral carnage: but I do not see to what our easily
yielding will tend, if not to the loss of every thing."

Nevertheless, he could not take this last method
himself. He entirely renounced all care of the pub-
lic affairs; assisted no more at any debates; and
gave himself up entirely to his pleading. This re-
source was very useful to him. By this he gave new
splendor, maintained or restored the zeal of his friends,
and also prepared himself to support the assaults of
Mutilus. But there happened to him another affair,
in which he was involved with several of the most
lustrious citizens of Rome: a black intrigue of Cæsar;
which turned to the shame of its author, and to the

* His ex rebus non spes, sed dolor est major, quum videas civitatis luntatem solutam, virtutem alligatam.

+ Nunc quidem novo quodam mórbō civitás moritur, ut, quum nubes ea quae sunt acta improbent, querantur, doleant, varietasque re nulla sit, apertéque loquantur, & jam clarè gemint, tamen medicina nulla afferatur. Neque enim resisti sine internecione posse ar-
mamur; nec videamus, qui finis cedendi, præter exitium, futurus sit.

A. R. 693. destruction of a miserable wretch whom he had made
Ant. C. a tool of.

59.

Cic. ad
Att. II:
24, & in
Vet. 22,
26.

Young Curio, as I have said, had rendered himself odious to Cæsar, by declaring against the Triumvirate. Cæsar resolved to perplex him, and several others, by spiriting up a serious accusation against them, capable of making a great noise. For this purpose he made use of that Vettius, who had formerly impeached him himself as an accomplice of Catiline. Vettius insinuated himself into the friendship of young Curio; and when he had gained his confidence, he opened to him the design which he said he had to fall upon Pompey with his slaves, and to kill him. He was in hopes that Curio would have come into the proposal, or at least have kept his secret, and then his scheme was to have come into the Forum with a poniard, and to have brought also his slaves thither well armed; to have got himself apprehended in that condition, and afterwards to have accused Curio. The horror which this young man pressed at the design of assassinating Pompey, somewhat disconcerted Vettius. Curio acquainted his brother with the discourse he had had with him; the brother gave Pompey notice of it, and he brought the affair before the Senate.

Vettius was sent for, and at first denied that he had any concern with Curio. Afterwards finding himself close pressed, he demanded the assurance of his life, and then deposed, that a company of young men, whom Curio was the chief, and among whom were named Paulus-Emilius, Brutus, and some others, formed a design to kill Pompey. He shewed himself no bad schemer by bringing Brutus into the party, who looked upon Pompey as his father's murderer, and who, for that reason, had not for a long time had any commerce with him. But he failed with respect to Bibulus, from whom he pretended to have received a dagger. This seemed ridiculous, and with good reason, for sure Vettius might have found a dagger without the help of the Consul. And what totally

, found

founded the imposture was, that on the thirteenth of May, Bibulus had given notice to Pompey, to take care of the snares that were laid for his life, and Pompey had thanked him for it. As to Paulus-Emilius, he was Quæstor in Macedonia at the time that Vettius charged him with being in the plot to kill Pompey. Thus the Senate were easily convinced that the whole was a gross abuse : It was ordered that Vettius should be sent to prison, as guilty of bearing arms, according to his own confession ; and a decree was added, that if any one should take him out of prison, the Senate would look upon such an undertaking as an attempt against the Commonwealth.

It was, without doubt, against Cæsar that the Senate took this precaution. But that Consul valued the authority of the Senate so little, that the next day he produced Vettius upon the Tribunal of Handcusses, and thus placed that avowed villain in a seat from whence he had excluded, in his Prætorship, Q. Catulus the first citizen of Rome, and which it was not allowed his colleague to approach. Here the scene changed, and Vettius no longer named the same actors. He made no mention of Brutus, which plainly shewed that he had been dictated to in the night what he was to say, and what he was to be silent in ; and that Servilia, the mother of Brutus, whose union with Cæsar was of old date, and too well known, had drawn her son out of this scrape. Vettius named others, of whom he had not given the least suspicion when before the Senate, Lucullus, Q. Domitius, who was one of the most ardent enemies of Cæsar. He did not mention Cicero by name, but said that an eloquent man of consular dignity, and a neighbour of the Consul's, had told him, that there was need of a new Titurius Ahala, or of another Brutus. This was not ; when the assembly was broke up, Vatinius, Tribune of the People, a worthy minister of Cæsar's in-

Ahala had killed Sp. Milæus, who aspired at arbitrary power.
B. 5. An. R. 315. Brutus, every body knows, drove away the Kings.

A.R. 693. justice, called back Vettius, and asked him if he had
 Ant. C. forgot none of the accomplices? Vettius named Piso
 59. the son-in-law of Cicero, and that M. Laterensis, of
 whom I spoke on account of the oath imposed by
 Cæsar on the candidates.

These were not juridical acts. Vatinus undertook to set the affair right, by proposing to the People to order him to inform against those who had been impeached by Vettius; that the same Vettius should be admitted to depose against them at law, and that recompences should be ordered him, which this mercenary Tribune carried very far. But the imposture was too ill concerted, to bear the light of a judicial enquiry. Cæsar himself apprehended the consequences of so senseless a calumny. One morning Vettius was found strangled in the prison. This was the wages with which Cæsar * paid the service that this villain had done him. He would have thrown the suspicion of his death upon others; but no-body was deceived, and history charges him with this murder, horrible in all its circumstances.

Cicero was not much afraid of the accusation with which he was menaced: but the blackness of the intrigue severely afflicted him. "I am † weary of life," said he to Atticus, in seeing it so full of miseries. No body in the world is more unhappy than myself, and no body more happy than Catulus, who could live with dignity, and die before he was witness to so many evils."

A storm more outrageous was preparing against him. Clodius was appointed Tribune of the People, and prepared his batteries at length to satisfy his revenge against him, who, with too much sincerity, had put his life in danger. Cicero had for a long time foreseen this storm, and it had been very easy for him

* Cicero makes Vatinus author of this murder, but that was out of a politic caution with regard to Cæsar.

† Prorsus vitæ tædet; ita sunt omnia omnium miseriarum plena.
—Nihil me infortunatus, nil fortunatus est Catulo, quum spacio
vite, tum hoc tempore. Cic. II. ad Att. 24.

A. R. 693.
Ant. C.
59.

have layed it, if he would have given himself up to the wills of the powerful. Cæsar and Pompey had made great advances to him, and strove all manner of ways to attach him to them. He never could consent to it; but stedfast in his principles, all that he thought he could permit himself to do for his own safety, was not to provoke the Triumvirs to wrath by an open resistance. It was easy to see, notwithstanding all the caution he used, that he did not approve their conduct, and looked upon it as a real tyranny. The Triumvirs not being able to gain him by caresses, tried afterwards to intimidate him, by making Clodius go over into the rank of a Plebeian. Cicero was sensible of the stroke, and covered himself still more in his silence on the publick affairs, in his reserve, and in his precaution; but he gave no tokens of his approving the violent undertakings which manifestly tended to the oppression of liberty.

It seemed as if Pompey and Cæsar took their resolution, at this time, to send away from Rome, at any rate, a man who must hurt them, and whom they could not bring over to their interest. Pompey, deeply dissembling, continued to load Cicero with caresses. He assured them, that Clodius should give him no uneasiness, and boasted that he had not only exacted the word, but the oath of the new Tribune, on this occasion. Cæsar acted more frankly. He offered Cicero either a free embassy (I have explained above what this was among the Romans) or the employment of Lieutenant-General about his person in Gaul. All this gave Cicero much trouble. He feared Clodius, and yet had an extreme repugnance to leave Rome. The promises of Pompey, which flattered his inclination, determined him to stay, supposing either that Clodius would not attack him, or that he should be supported by a more powerful protection. Atticus nevertheless exhorted him to distrust Pompey. Cicero continued obstinate to give credit to him. "He* is

* Non me ille fallit, sed ipse fallitur,—Alterum facio, ut caveam; alterum, ut non credam, facere non possum.

A. R. 693. deceived by Clodius, answered he to him, but he does
 Ant. C. not deceive me. I can very easily put myself upon
 59. Cic. ad my guard against fraud, but not to believe it is out
 Att. II. 19, of my power." & 20.

Ought we really to believe that Pompey deceived him, and that, by the grossest falsehoods, he laid a snare for him, to engage him to stay in the city, and by those means to procure his banishment? This is what cannot easily enter into my mind. Pompey told him the truth, but he did not tell him all. It was in concert with him, that Cæsar had made Cicero the offers I have spoken of. If in effect he had received a benefit from their hands, he must have become dependent upon them, and that was all they wanted. It seems astonishing to me, that Cicero, with all his understanding and penetration, did not discover the game that was playing by Pompey and Cæsar, whose strict union he was so well acquainted with, and that he did not comprehend what was to be understood by all the obliging discourses that Pompey held with him.

Dio,

He thought then only how to fortify himself, by more and more attaching to him all the good citizens that remained in Rome. He had merited their affection in his Consulship. Clodius hindered Bibulus from making an harangue to the People, and allowed him to speak only in taking the customary oath. It is not to be doubted, but Cæsar in this was in concert with the Tribune, and he crowned by this last stroke all the insults that he had offered his Colleague. Cæsar also went out of his employment, having, according to Cicero, confirmed * and solidly established in his Consulship that tyranny, of which he had formed the design, and laid the foundation while he was Ædile.

* Cæsarem in consulari confirmasse regnum, de quo Ædilis cogitat. SUET. Cæs. c. 9.

THE

ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK THE THIRTY-NINTH.

THE exile and re-establishment of Cicero. The Isle of Cyprus reduced to a Roman province. Some other facts of less importance. In the years of Rome 694 and 695.

S E C T . I.

Materials wanting to furnish a detail of the secret intrigues which brought about the exile of Cicero. Clodius supported by the two Consuls. Their characters. The Triumvirs favour Clodius. Clodius, to prepare the way to attack Cicero, proposes laws of different kinds: For the free distribution of corn: For the re-establishment of fraternities of artisans: For lessening the power of the Censors: For abolishing the laws called *Aelia* and *Fusia*. Cicero, deceived by Clodius, lets all these laws pass quietly. Clodius proposes a law which condemns to banishment any one who causes the death of a citizen without the form of process. Cicero puts on mourning. Reflections on this step. All the orders of the State interest themselves for Cicero. A law proposed by Clodius to assign governments to the Consuls. The Senate, by public deliberation, put on mourning with Cicero. Clodius arms all the mob of Rome. The rage of Gabinius. An ordinance of the Consuls, which enjoins the Senators

CALPURNIUS, GABINIUS, Consuls.

to quit their mourning. Piso declares plainly to Cicero, that he does not pretend to defend him. Pompey abandons him. An assembly of the People, in which the Consuls explain themselves in a manner disadvantageous to the cause of Cicero. The double danger of Cicero, from Clodius, and from the Consuls and Caesar. Hortensius and Cato advise Cicero to retire. He leaves Rome. Cicero's dream. A law brought against Cicero by name. Observations on that law. It passes, and, at the same time, that concerning the departments of the Consuls. Cicero's goods sold, and his houses pillaged by the Consuls. Clodius seizes on the land belonging to Cicero's house, and consecrates a part of it to the Goddess Liberty. Cicero, repulsed by the Praetor of Sicily, goes into Greece, and arrives at Dyrrachium. Plancius gives him an asylum at Thessalonica. The excessive grief of Cicero. His complaints against his friends. A justification of their conduct. Cicero's apology for the excess of his grief. The reflection of Plutarch on Cicero's weakness. Cato and Caesar depart, one for the island of Cyprus, and the other for Gaul. The claims pretended by the Romans to Egypt and the island of Cyprus. Clodius offended by Ptolemy King of Cyprus. The law of Clodius to reduce this island to a Roman province. The King of Cyprus has not the courage to throw his treasures into the sea. He puts an end to his life by poison. The great exactness of Cato in gathering together the riches of this King. The precautions he took in transporting them. His books of accounts lost. His return to Rome. Clodius cavils with him to no purpose. The Aedileship of Scaurus. The incredible pomp of the games he gave to the People. The games given by Curio.

A.R. 654.
Ant. C.
58.

L. CALPURNIUS PISO.
A. GABINIUS.

IT was under the Consulship of Piso and Gabinus that Cicero was banished. If we had the letters wrote by him to Atticus, in the time we are going to speak

CALPURNIUS, GABINIUS, Consuls.

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speak of, as we have those which immediately preceded it, we should be fully informed of all the intrigues and all the artifices that were made use of to destroy him. A.R. 694.
Ant. C.
58.

But Cicero, as soon as he found the danger grew serious, had pressed Atticus to come speedily to him. “ If you love me, said he to him, as certainly you do love me, give me a proof of it by coming hither * with all the speed you are able. If you sleep, awake; if you are awake, walk; if you are walking, run; if you run, that is not enough, fly. You cannot think how much I depend upon your advice, upon your prudence, and what is the chief of all, upon your friendship for me.” Atticus, like a true friend, did not fail of complying with an instance so pressing: therefore Cicero no longer had any occasion to write to him, till he was obliged himself to leave Rome: and for the facts that we are to relate, we have scarce any assistance but from his orations, in which we are not to suppose, that he spoke with the same openness as in his letters to an intimate friend. They are nevertheless more useful, and furnish us with more lights than the Greek historians, who do not enter into that detail one could wish for, nor write with that exactness, that it is possible to have a perfect confidence in them.

Clodius found himself in the most favourable situation to oppress Cicero. He had both the Consuls on his side; and this year falsified the observation of Catulus, who said, that the Commonwealth had rarely one wicked Consul; and, if the time of Cinna’s tyranny was excepted, it never had happened that they were both wicked at once. Catulus encouraged Cicero by this observation, in promising him, that he would always find one of the Consuls, at least, ready to defend him.

* Si me amas tantum, quantum profecto amas; si dormis, expergiscere; si stas, ingredere; si ingredieris, curre; si curris, advola. Credibile non est, quantum ego in consiliis & prudentia tua, quodque maximum est, quantum in amore & fide ponam. Cic. ad Att. II. 23.

It

A. R. 694. It is true, if one of the Consuls had any sentiment worthy his place, he could not have failed of supporting Cicero's cause, which was that of the Consular power and of the Senate; for the pretence that they made use of to attack him, was the death of Lentulus and his accomplices. Now Cicero had done nothing against these villains but as Consul, and by virtue of a *Senatusconsultum*. And all the orders of the State, declaring loudly for Cicero, in the danger he was, if there had been a Consul at their head, Clodius could never have succeeded in his unjust and criminal undertaking. But although I do not pretend fully to adopt the invectives of Cicero against Piso and Gabinius, in which it cannot be denied but passion transported him too far; the facts speak, and it is certain, that in the supreme magistracy of Rome, there had rarely been seen a couple so mischievous and devoted to iniquity.

Gabinius, the old friend of Catiline, was a professed debauchee; one of those men who had lost all shame and triumphed in vice; a vile flatterer of Pompey, to whose enormous credit he was wholly indebted for his elevation.

Piso bore a name, which seemed to be consecrated to virtue, and he affected the outward shew of it, an air of severity, manners serious and melancholy, which seemed too austere; a great remoteness from luxury, and a taste of simplicity in his equipage, in his cloaths, and especially in his person. By this he had not only imposed on the public, but on Cicero himself, who had the more easily hoped to have found a friend in him, as his son-in-law was of the same family, and bore the same name with this Consul. But Piso was nothing less than what he seemed to be. He was a real Epicurean, not only in speculation but in practice. Cicero reproached him with manners altogether corrupted. It is not upon this that I insist; but principally observe, that Piso praised and followed those maxims of Epicurus, which tend to the destruction of all society: that a wise man thinks only of him-

himself, and what regards his own interest : That a sensible one ought not to fatigue himself with the cares and embarrassments of public affairs : That nothing is more excellent than a life of idleness, and made up of pleasures. And that, on the contrary, it was madness, and a kind of fanaticism to think, that we ought to respect the laws of honour, procure the publick good, consult one's duty in the conduct of life, more than one's profit ; and lastly, to expose one's self to dangers, to wounds, and even to death, for the good of one's country. Piso, spoiled by these principles so pernicious, especially in a sovereign magistrate, and Gabinius led to the same end by mere instinct, and the corruption of a bad heart, easily united with Clodius, and for the sake of good governments in the provinces, which were promised them by this Tribune, they both shewed themselves ready to second his outrages.

The Triumvirate gave the finishing stroke to render the enterprizes of Clodius infallible ; if not in acting with him, at least in keeping themselves as a good body of reserve. Crassus had always hated Cicero, and he did the like by him. Cæsar was piqued at his obstinacy in refusing all his offers, and especially as he did not doubt but the defenders of the Aristocracy, at the first ray of liberty, would use their utmost efforts to overthrow all the work of his Consulship, he was willing to take from them two men, who might be looked upon as the pillars of that party, Cicero and Cato. It was for this reason, that Clodius gave Cato, as I shall shew hereafter, an employment that obliged him to leave Italy. As to Cicero, Cæsar was disposed to favour him, if he could have made him resolve to quit Rome : upon his refusal, he gave himself up to the revenge that Clodius prepared ; and had this work so much at heart, that being gone out of the city, in quality of Proconsul, and not having the liberty to re-enter it, he kept himself in the suburbs, to take measures as things might fall out, and having his troops ready in case there should

A. R. 694. should be occasion for them. Pompey could not separate himself from Crassus and Cæsar. He nevertheless observed a little more decorum. But if he did not positively contribute to oppress Cicero, at least it is certain that he abandoned him.

Cic. in Pis. n. 9. & ibid. Af-
con. Notwithstanding so many united forces, the cause of Cicero was so good, and all honest men taking his part, the Senate and the order of Knights forming so powerful a party for him, his enemies were forced to use great precaution before they dared venture to attack him. On the 3d day of January, Clodius began to prepare his batteries, and to propose different laws, either to gain the favour of all sorts of People, or to remove the obstacles by which it might be undertaken to stop him.

One of these laws had regard to the distribution of corn, which was to be allowed to Citizens at a very low price. C. Gracchus, the author of this Largeis, was willing that corn should be given at half an As, and the third part of an As, which is about six-pence of our money, the bushel. So low a price was certainly no charge even to the poorest. The law of Clodius quite freed the citizens, and ordered that the distribution of corn should be perfectly gratuitous.

Cic. pro
Sext. n. 55. This was a considerable matter to the Commonwealth, if it is true, as Cicero says, that by this retrenchment, she found herself impoverished of almost one fifth part of her revenues.

T. L. II.
27. A second law re-established or instituted a sort of fraternities of Artisans. The custom had been ancient in Rome, since mention is made of it in the laws of the XII tables, and we find one of Merchants established a few years after the expulsion of the Tarquins; and even the institution by going back to the reign of Numa.³⁰ Nevertheless these fraternities composed of mean People, who assembled together, kept holidays, and assisted at games, appeared to the Senate so dangerous in their consequences to the public tranquillity, that after having subsisted for many ages, they had been all suppressed within about nine years. Clo-
dius

dius was not satisfied with reviving the antient fraternities; but he created new ones, which he formed out of the vilest of the mob. These were troops always ready at his command, and capable of executing under him the greatest violences.

A.R. 624.
Ant. C.
88.

His third law enervated and almost destroyed the authority of the Censorship, and thereby became extremely agreeable to a very great number of citizens, and especially of Senators, whose irregular conduct had given them reason to fear a severe magistracy, who threatened to reduce them to their duty, or disgrace them if they failed in it. Clodius delivered them from this fear, by ordering that the censors should not degrade a Senator, nor take notice of a citizen, who was not first accused in form before them; whereas before, the censors, when they were agreed, might, by their office, degrade those whose manners seemed reprehensible to them, without waiting to be urged to it by the ministry of an accuser.

By these laws Clodius made himself friends and partizans; but he knew that among his colleagues and in the college of Prætors, there were men whom he could not hope to gain: he feared many obstacles from them, and particularly from what was drawn from the Auspices. It is known what the superstition of the Romans was with respect to presages, and especially to those signs which they imagined came from Heaven. This was the most powerful resource of the Senators policy, to prevent the seditious enterprises of those who sought to flatter the people. Thus the laws Ælia and Fusia, which positively declared all void, that should be done in contempt of the Auspices, are called, by Cicero, in a thousand places the strongest ramparts of the peace and tranquillity of the State. A magistrate who took upon him to consult the Auspices, if he signified it to his colleague, or to a Tribune of the People, who had sent them out to give their suffrages, all was stopped in a moment, and it was not allowed to proceed any farther that day. Bibulus had often employed this method,

with

A. R. 694. with regard to Cæsar, who carrying every thing with
 Ant. C. a high hand, despised the significations of his colleague,
 58. and pushed on his purposes to the end. Clodius was
 willing at once to get rid of this check, by having it
 decreed by the People, that it should not be allowed
 for any magistrate to consult the Auspices while the
 Tribune should be employed in debate. This same law
 of Clodius also abolished the distinction of days, on
 which the assemblies of the People should, or should
 not be held, a distinction made use of from all anti-
 quity to bridle popular licentiousness. Clodius or-
 dained, on the contrary, that all the days marked in
 the kalendar as days of audience of the Prætor, should
 be equally free to propose laws and to debate upon
 them.

There needed not all the penetration of Cicero, to
 comprehend that these laws were machines directed
 against him, and which prepared the way for the at-
 taunts that were proposed to be given to him : there-
 fore Cicero resolved at first to act with vigour to hin-
 der their passing. The greatest part of the Tribunes
 meant him well ; but especially Q. Mummius * Qua-
 dratus, the most faithful and the most courageous
 friend that Cicero had among the magistrates of this
 year, resolved to oppose the laws of Clodius in form.
 This last had recourse to cunning. He pretended
 that he had no ill design against Cicero. He changed
 his stile with regard to him : used no more menaces,
 no more invectives ; but threw upon Terentia the
 cause of their enmity : at length he solemnly pro-
 mised to undertake nothing against Cicero, if he
 would bring no obstacle to his laws. I cannot con-
 ceive, nor explain the facility with which Cicero, and,
 above all, Atticus came into so gross a snare. The
 fact is, that Cicero, by the advice of his friend, con-
 sented to remain quiet ; Mummius made no opposi-
 tion, and the laws passed.

* The best editions of Cicero vary in this name. I find him called sometimes MUMMIUS, sometimes NINNIUS. Of these two, I have chosen the name the most known.

Clodius then took off the mask, and proposed a law, which pronounced the pain of banishment against any one who should cause, or had already used, the death of a citizen without the form of process; and that this law might meet with the less difficulty, he joined to it, or perhaps preceded it by, a prohibition to the Tribunes to use the right of opposition to it. This restriction given to the right of the Tribunes was not without example, for C. Gracchus had made use of it in a case favourable to the Senate, by decreeing to that assembly the sovereign decision of the Consuls jurisdiction, without the Tribunes being allowed to offer any obstacle to it.

Cicero was not named in the law of Clodius. Nevertheless, as soon as it was proposed he put on mourning, and began to supplicate the People in the same manner as if he had been accused by name. He reproached himself afterwards for taking this step as a fault; and pretended, that he ought to have looked upon that law as nothing, or to have commended it. confess I cannot conceive without difficulty how he could commend a law which was the foundation of the criminal business that was stirred up against him, least that he did not maintain, that a citizen condemned to death by the Senate on account of a conspiracy against the Commonwealth, was judged in error, although it was contrary to the common law; or by that the People alone assembled in their comitia by centuries, could judge of the crime of high treason.

Dio shews this affair with another face; and supposing, which was true, the death of Lentulus was intended at by the terms of the law, he observes that this law attacked the Senate in a body, who, on account of Catiline's conspiracy, had given an unlimited power to the Consuls, and who passed the decree, by virtue of which Lentulus and his accomplices were strangled in prison. According to this idea, the fault of Cicero was making that his own use, which was the cause of the Senate.

A. R. 694.
Ant. C.
58.

In truth, all this to me does not seem to touch the point in question. The reflection of Cicero is that a man who was dejected and overwhelmed by misfortunes, and who consequently blames all that is past because success did not attend it. The observation of Dio would be right, if Cicero, in making the application of the law, had cooled the zeal of the Senate with regard to him: but that body having espoused his quarrel with all the force imaginable, I ask here what wrong Cicero did himself. One only way was left open to him to prevent the ill with which he was threatened, and that was to have gained the favour of the Triumvirs, by accepting of the Lieutenant-Generalship that Cæsar had offered him. Having once refused that, it was impossible for him to avoid banishment.

Cicero, on the other hand, had all the help, and all the support he could hope for. When he put on mourning, almost all the Knights did the same; and twenty thousand young men, the flower of the Roman Nobility, having the son of Crassus at their head, accompanied Cicero every where, soliciting the People in his favour. This young Crassus had a great deal of merit, and the love of virtue and of letters inspired him with a warm affection for Cicero. All the different orders of the Commonwealth; all the towns of Italy testified their uneasiness and their alarms upon the dangers of this one man. The Senate especially interested themselves briskly in a cause which was their own; they fled to the Consuls, solicited them, and charged them to take upon them the defence of Cicero, as they were obliged to, by the duty of the place.

But what hope could there be, that Consuls sold the Tribune would resolve to act in any thing against him? At the same time that Clodius had proposed his law to destroy Cicero, he had proposed another for assigning to the Consuls large and important governments; to Piso, that of Macedonia; to Gabinius, that of Cilicia. Thus the plot was not only manifested,

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ested, but the wages paid, that these unworthy Ma- A. R. 694
istrates had bargained for, to deliver his victim to Ant. C.
the Tribune. 58.

Nevertheless, Gabinius coming into the Senate (for Piso, on account of an indisposition, either real or feigned, was not there) all the assembly, with tears in their eyes, conjured the Consul present to undertake to just a cause; to enter into deliberation on the affair of Cicero; and proposed according to the general consent of all the Senators, that they should put on mourning with him. The Knights also sent a deputation to Gabinius, tending to the same purpose, at the head of which were the two illustrious Consuls, Hortensius and Curio. The Consul repulsed with disdain the intreaties of so many great personages, who threw themselves at his feet. The Tribune Mummius then, according to the duty of his office, entered into debate upon what the Consul had refused to propose; and a decree was made, declaring, that all the Senators should put on mourning, as in the case of a public calamity.

Cicero had reason to think himself honoured by such a deliberation. * “ O day, cried he, fatal to the Senate, and to all good men. Fatal to the Commonwealth: but, at the same time, glorious for me and all posterity, that such men should grieve for me the moment my misfortunes were made known! What man was ever so honoured? All good men of their own accord, all the Senators by public deliberation put on mourning, in favour of one citizen; and that with the only view of shewing their grief, and not, according to custom, to make their prayers more

* O diem illum, judices, funestum Senatui bonisque omnibus, Republicæ luctuosum, mihi ad domesticum mœrem gravem, ad poststatis memoriam gloriosum! Quid enim quisquam potest ex omni memoriâ sumere illustrius, quam pro uno cive & bonos omnes privato consensu, & universum Senatum publico consilio mutasse veste! Quæ quidem tum mutatio non deprecationis causâ est facta, sed luctus. Num enim deprecarentur, quum omnes essent, Fordidati, quumque sic satis esset signi, esse improbum, qui mutata veste non esset? Cic. de Sext. n. 27.

A. R. 624. moving. For who could they pray to, since all
 Ant. C. 58. were in tears; and it is a mark sufficient to shew a man
 to be a bad citizen, not to have put on mourning?"

Pro Sext. n. 34. Clodius was in a rage, to see the endeavours that
 were used to snatch out of his hands the man that he
 would have proscribed. He had before taken the
 precaution to encompass himself about with armed
 men, and had enlisted all the mob of Rome, and the
 dregs of the slaves, under the pretext of the fraterni-
 ties that came to be renewed by his law. He had al-
 ready made use of this guard, so worthy of him, to
 insult Cicero, to cover him with mud, and do him
 thousand injuries, whilst this respectable suppliant
 went through the Forum and the City, imploring
 the protection of the citizens. He had filled the
 temple of Castor with arms and with armed men, and
 by taking away the stairs, he had made it, as it were
 a citadel, that commanded the Forum, and made
 him absolute master of all that passed in it. Then
 having about him one part of his guards, and the
 other in the Temple, which served him for a fortress,
 he cited the Deputies of the order of the Knights
 who had presented themselves to the Consul, to ap-
 pear before the People, and instead of suffering them
 to lay open their reasons, he delivered them up to the
 outrages and blows of that vile heap of people that he
 had gathered about him. Hortensius expected to have
 Pro Mil. n. 37. been killed by these madmen. Another Senator
 named Vibienus, was so ill used by them, that he died
 in a short time after.

Gabinius no longer kept any measures. He went
 in a passion out of the assembly of the Senate, of
 which I have been speaking, and having convoked
 that of the People, he spoke to them, says Cicero,
 in such a manner, as Catiline durst not when he was
 conqueror. He said, "he pitied the error of those
 who thought that the Senate was still any thing in the
 Commonwealth. As to what regarded the Roman
 Knights, he was going to make them suffer for the
 support they had lent Cicero in his Consulship. That

Post red.
in Sen.
n. 12.
Pro Sext.
n. 28.

he time was come, when those who were then afraid A. R. 694,
 he meant the Conspirators) should revenge themselves Ant. C.
 on their enemies." Such language was certainly very
 surprizing in the mouth of a Consul, and shewed that
 Gabinius did not even go about to disguise his crimi-
 nal designs under any favourable colours. His actions
 were conformable to his language; and he immedi-
 ately upon the spot, in an unexampled and unheard-
 of manner, banished two hundred miles from Rome,
 an illustrious Roman Knight, named L. Lamia, who
 had distinguished himself by his zeal in the cause of
 Cicero.

A little while after an ordinance of the Consuls ap-
 peared, which enjoined the Senators to quit their
 mourning, and take again the habit of their condition.
 Tyrannical ordinance! which * suffered the cause of
 their grief to subsist, and forbade the marks of it; and
 which would stop tears by threats, and not by offer-
 ing motives of consolation.

Piso plainly shewed by this step, that he had a ^{In Pif.} good understanding with Gabinius. He fairly de-^{n. 12.}
 clared it to Cicero, about this time, in a visit he made
 him, accompanied by his son-in-law C. Piso. " Ga-
 binius, said the Consul to Cicero, is drove to ex-
 tremes, he cannot support himself but by the govern-
 ment of a province. The Senate will not give him
 one; he expects it from the Tribune. For my part,
 I have respect for my Colleague, as you had for yours
 in your Consulship. Do not look for any support from
 the Consuls. Every one here is for himself."

There remained Pompey, in whom Cicero had al-
 ways had much confidence, and who might really have
 saved him, if he had had as much good will as power.
 But Clodius said aloud, and repeated it in all his ha-
 rangues, that the three most powerful citizens, Cæsar,
 Crassus, and Pompey, were in agreement with him,
 and resolved to support him. Pompey said nothing;

* Quis hoc fecit aliâ in Scythâ tyrannus, ut eos quos luctu afficeret,
 lugere non fineret? Mœrorem relinquis, mœroris aufers insignia,
 tripis lacrymas non consolando, sed minando. Cic. in Pif. n. 18.

A. R. 694. but by so expressive a silence in such circumstances
 Ant. C. sufficiently authorized what had been said by the
 58. Tribune. The enemies of Cicero being willing to furnish Pompey with a pretext to estrange himself from his friendship, contrived ambuses, and designed attempts upon his life, and loaded with these suspicions a man of a character as far from such black designs, as he was incapable of thinking of them at time when his own dangers and his own fears employed him but too much. Nevertheless Pompey either to add credit to these reports, or to avoid solicitations, or through shame, had quitted Rome, and kept himself in the country in a house that he had near Alba.

Cicero could not resolve with himself to renounce the hopes he had in the succour of Pompey, without making the last trial of it. He sent his son-in-law, he went himself to Alba. Plutarch assures us, that Pompey blushing to see the man whom he had not blushed to betray, no sooner was told that Cicero was coming into his house at one door, but he privately stole out at another; and this behaviour sufficiently convinces us of the justness of the character that Sallust gives of him; that * he had more modesty in his countenance than in his heart. It is however certain, that Cicero got to the sight of him, if not precisely at this time, at some other. He even threw himself at his feet, and Pompey had the cruelty not to raise him up; but told him, that he could do nothing contrary to the will of Cæsar.

In Pif.
77, 78. Four of the chiefs of the Senate, L. Lentulus, actually Prætor, Q. Fabius Sangana, and two Consulars, L. Torquatus, and M. Lucullus, brother of the conqueror of Mithridates, were willing to make one more effort. Pompey, in treating with them, made use of all his dissimulation, and shewed himself, according to his custom, willing to save appearances, although

* Oris probi, animo inverecundo. SALL. ap. Sueton. de Grammat. f. 15.

A. R. 694.
Ant. C.
58.

he counted the reality of his duty as nothing. He sent them back to the Consuls, telling them, "that it belonged to the Sovereign Magistrates to undertake the cause of the Commonwealth, and propose the affair to the Senate. That for himself, without public deliberation, he would not combat with a Tribune that was armed. That as soon as he found himself authorized by a *Senatusconsultum* he would take up arms."

This was a manifest collusion, for Pompey was not ignorant of the sentiments of the Consuls. Gabinius answered the four Senators in a very rough and obliging manner. Piso chose a more moderate style, but which meant the same thing at bottom. He said, "that he did not pique himself upon having so much courage as Cicero, and * Torquatus, who spoke to him, had in their Consulships. That there was no need of having recourse to arms, nor of fighting. That Cicero might save his country a second time by retiring. That if he went about to resist, the slaughter once began would find no bounds. That, in a word, neither himself, nor Cæsar his son-in-law, nor Gabinius his Colleague, would abandon the Tribune."

This declaration was plain and positive, but it was made in private. Soon after both the Consuls and Cæsar had an occasion to explain themselves publickly: For Clodius, to shew his friends and his adversaries, at the same time, how powerfully he was supported, directed an assembly of the People to be held out of the city, that Cæsar might assist at it. There he produced the Consuls, who both disapproved of the punishment of Lentulus, which Piso even dared to tax with cruelty. Cæsar, with that air of moderation and benignity which he always preserved, nevertheless, without ever quitting his purposes, said, "that what he thought with respect to Lentulus and others in-

* Under the Consulship of Torquatus there had been one of the first conspiracies of Catiline, of which I have spoke in its place.

A. R. 694. volved in the same cause, was well enough known
 Ant. C. 58. That if he had been minded, they had not been put
 to death. That nevertheless he was not of opinion
 that any enquiry should be made into what was passed,
 and that it would be better to bury all in oblivion."

Cicero had now only two ways to take, either to retire or to fight. His forces were not inconsiderable. All that was virtuous in the city, every citizen that preserved any respect for the good of the Commonwealth, for the laws and for liberty, were ready to take up arms in his favour. And it is not to be doubted, but that, seeing himself so well supported, he would have determined to have made a courageous resistance, if it had not been for that vile mob, that was under the command of Clodius, composed of rogues taken out of dungeons, slaves, and the miserable remains of Catiline's troops. He knew also, that one battle, although he should have the superiority, would not be decisive. Clodius had said in full assembly: "That Cicero must perish at once, or be twice a conqueror." This saying had nothing dark in it, but meant if the Tribune was killed in the battle, the Consuls and Cæsar, whose Legions were not far off, would revenge his death. This second danger, greater without any comparison than the first, and of which the consequences might be fatal, not only to Cicero, but to the whole Commonwealth, deserved the strictest attention.

The friends of Cicero were divided in their opinions. M. Lucullus* would have had force opposed to force, whatever might be the event. Hortensius and Cato, who was not yet departed for the isle of Cyprus, whither Clodius had sent him, were afraid, if once swords were drawn in this quarrel, that it might become a general civil war. They represented

* Plutarch names Lucullus simply without his prenomen. But the great Lucullus who died mad a short time after, was then very likely in so weak a condition that he was incapable of publick affairs. For this reason I have ascribed what Plutarch says to his brother, M. Lucullus, who interested himself in favour of Cicero with Pompey and the Consuls.

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Ant. C.
58.

to Cicero, that his absence could not be for a long continuance; that Clodius, by his fury, would soon tire his own friends; and that the whole Commonwealth, with one consent, would call for their Deliverer home again. This resolution was the most reasonable, and the most generous for him to take: And it was not without reason that Cicero gloried in having * twice saved his country; the first time with a great and splendid success, and the second at the expence of the most cruel disgrace. Happy, if he could have maintained this glory by constancy in his exile; and if, on the contrary, the little steadfastness he shewed in his misfortunes, had not given room to believe, that fear had a great share in the resolution he took to yield to his enemies!

He went out of Rome in the night, having first carried a Minerva to the Capitol, which he seemed till then to have reverenced in his house as his tutelar divinity, and which he consecrated in this august temple by the title of the “Guardian of the City.” His thoughts, without doubt, was, that the city of Rome had lost her guardian in losing him; and that he was forced, after having tried all the resources that human prudence could suggest, to leave the Gods themselves for her guardians. It was now the beginning of April, and he soon got to the coasts of Lucania, preparing to pass into Sicily, where he expected to have found both affection from the people, and protection from the Praetor, C. Virgilius, a man of a mild disposition, and who, in former times, had always shewed himself attached to the best party.

Cic. ad Att. III.

I know not whether I ought to speak of a dream ^{Cic.} that he had, when got not far from Rome. What de- ^{Divin.} termined me to do it, was, that the judgment that he & L. II. ^{L. I. n. 59.} himself made of it, may serve for a rule to those, ^{n. 140.} who are sometimes too much struck with the relation ^{143.} that their dreams have to real events. He fancied he

* Unus rempublicam bis servavi, semel gloriā iterum ærumnā meā.
Cic. pro Sext. n. 49.

A. R. 694. was wandering in some solitary place, when he saw
 Ant. C. Marius coming to him, preceded by his Lictor,
 58. whose fasces were crowned with branches of laurel. It seemed to him that Marius asked him the cause of his sorrow, and that having learned from him, that he was drove out of his country, he took him by the hand, and exhorted him to be of good courage, and giving his first Lictor charge of him, ordered him to conduct him into the temple that he had built and consecrated to Honour and Virtue, telling Cicero that from that place should come his safety. This dream was verified by the return of our illustrious fugitive, as all the world knows; and that nothing may be wanting to the entire and perfect accomplishment of it, it was in this temple, built by Marius, that one of the most famous Senatusconsultums passed in the affair of re-establishing Cicero. This last circumstance was the wonderful part of his dream, that made him remember it: for as to the rest, he thought so often of Marius, and compared his present fortune so readily with that of his famous countryman, formerly proscribed and banished, and who afterwards returned with honours into Italy, that it is not surprizing that these ideas should arise in his sleep. That the Senate would undertake his re-establishment was also a hope that constantly ran in his mind. As to the conformity of the event with his dream, with regard to the place of the Senatusconsultum, Cicero attributed that purely to chance. But as it was the usual custom of the Senate to assemble in different temples of the city, may it not be supposed that the remembrance of Marius, pointed out to them the temple he had built, sooner than any other?

As soon as Clodius was informed of the retreat of Cicero, he caused him to be condemned to banishment by name, by a law which was proposed soon after in these terms: DO YOU WILL, AND ORDER, ROMANS, THAT M. TULLIUS CICERO, FOR HAVING CAUSED THE DEATH OF ROMAN CITIZENS WITHOUT ANY FORM OF PROCESS; FOR HAVING PUT A FALSE

SE.

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58.

SENATUS CONSULTUM IN THE PUBLIC REGISTERS, HAS * BEEN DEPRIVED OF THE USE OF WATER AND FIRE: THAT ALL MEN SHOULD BE FORBID TO RECEIVE HIM, OR GIVE HIM ANY AZYLM WITHIN THE DISTANCE OF FIVE HUNDRED MILES OF ROME, AND THAT IF HE SHOULD BE FOUND WITHIN THAT SPACE IT MAY BE ALLOWED TO KILL HIM, AND THOSE WHO SHALL HAVE RECEIVED HIM INTO THEIR HOUSES: THAT MOREOVER EVERY MAGISTRATE AND EVERY SENATOR SHOULD BE FORBID FOR EVER TO PROPOSE OR FAVOUR HIS BEING RECALLED, TO DELIBERATE, TO CONCLUDE, OR GIVE JUDGMENT IN ANY MANNER WHATSOEVER TO ANY THING THAT TENDS TO THAT END: IN A WORD, TO HAVE ANY PART IN ANY DECREE THAT MAY BE DESIGNED TO PERMIT HIM TO COME BACK AGAIN TO THIS CITY? The same law also set a fine upon Cicero, or ordered the confiscation of his goods.

This law was drawn up with all possible malice, as we see, but, on the other hand, very unskilfully. The very expression was not correct. It was said that Cicero "had been deprived," and not, "that they should deprive him," UT INTERDICTUM SIT, Cic. pro non UT INTERDICATUR of the use of water and fire. Domo 4. This was to suppose a preceding judgment, and there had not been any. This fault in the expression, though no great matter in itself, yet shews the temerity and inconsiderateness of Clodius, who had not even taken care to employ clerks and secretaries, who were acquainted with the style of public acts. Cicero reproached him with it. " You forbade," said he to him, " that any one should receive me, and had not ordered that I should go away."

The imputation of having framed the Senatusconsultum that condemned Lentulus and his accomplices to death, was so evident a calumny and so insupportable, that that article alone was sufficient to afford means to come with advantage against that law that

* Ut interdictum sit.

A. R. 694. contained it. It was easy to see that the intention
 Ant. C. Clodius was to deprive his enemies of that support
 58. which he found in the authority of the Senate, and to
 make him the sole author of the death of several ci-
 tizens of the first rank. But passion blinded him; for
 in establishing his law upon a false declaration, he
 built up a ruinous edifice, which destroyed itself. "If
 Cic. pro
Domo,
a. 50.
 I have inserted a false Senatusconsultum in the public
 registers, says Cicero, the law has reason in it; if not,
 it is null to all intents. Now, by how many posterior
 decrees have the Senate acknowledged and confirmed
 that which they would have passed for my work?"

This law was nevertheless authorized by the Su-
 frages, I will not say of the People, but of a multi-
 tude of wretches who were in the Tribune's pay. Ci-
 cero being retired, his defenders had no longer any in-
 terest that obliged them to fight. The law passed
 without opposition; only it was amended, I know not
 why, with respect to the distance, which was reduced
 to four hundred miles instead of five hundred: a hun-
 dred and thirty-three leagues, instead of a hundred
 and sixty-six.

The recompences of the Consuls went on in the same
 pace with the disgraces of Cicero. The law for giv-
 ing them Governments had been proposed at the same
 time with that which was the foundation of the crimi-
 nal process intended against him, and it was received
 the same day with that which condemned him to ba-
 nishment. Gabinius himself made an alteration in it
 to his own advantage; and instead of Cilicia, caused
 Syria to be given him, a richer Province, and which
 opened to him a fairer field to fortune, and, as he
 imagined, to glory.

The misfortunes of Cicero were enough to have satis-
 fied an ordinary hatred. But that of Clodius was
 furious, and extended itself to the town and country
 houses of him, whom he had just proscribed. Whe-
 ther the goods of Cicero were confiscated, or they
 were to answer for the payment of the fine that was
 set upon him, it is certain they were put up to public
 sale;

ale; but not one Gentleman offered himself to pur- A. R. 694.
chase any part of them. They were only the crea- Ant. C.
tures of Clodius that would take any advantage of
this unworthy booty. The Consuls did not forget Cic. pro
themselves. Immediately after the departure of Ci- Domo.
cero, and before the last law had been carried against
him, they had set fire to his house in Rome, which
they plundered at the same time, and the marble co-
lumns, with other ornaments, were carried to the house
of Piso's mother-in-law, which was in the neighbour-
hood. Gabinius took to himself the spoils of that
which Cicero had in the territories of Tusculum. He
caused it to be destroyed, and as he had one himself in
the same canton, he not only seized on the moveables
in Cicero's, and on every thing that was necessary for
country business, but had even the trees in his park
rooted up, and transplanted to his own.

It is very right, that Clodius should thus gather Vell. II.
the fruits of a crime of which he was the principal au- 14.
thor. The land belonging to Cicero's house in Rome
was an object that piqued his covetousness. This
house was large and spacious, and had been built fifty
or sixty years before by the famous Tribune M. Dru-
sus, to whom was attributed the cause of the social
war. It was situated on the mount Palatine facing
the Forum, and in the neighbourhood of Clodius.
This Tribune resolved to aggrandize himself, by add-
ing to his own house the seat of his enemy. But
that he might satisfy his revenge at the same time, see
what his ingenious malice contrived. The house of
Cicero, on one side, touched a Portico, built where
had formerly been a house belonging to M. Fulvius,
killed with C. Gracchus. This house having been
razed as that of a public enemy, Catulus, the con-
queror of the Cimbri, had built the Portico I am
speaking of, as a monument of his victory. Clodius
reserving nine tenths of Cicero's land to himself,
joined a parcel of it to the colonade of Catulus, that
he might confound the cause of Cicero with that of
Fulvius by a partnership in the same punishment. This
was

A. R. 694. was not all. To hinder the proprietor from ever being
 Ant. C. able to enter upon his own estate again, he consecrated
 58. this Portico, by a solemn dedication, in which the
 Pontiff Pinarius Natta lent his administration, and
 placed there a statue under the name of the Goddess
 of Liberty, as if he had been the avenger of public
 liberty oppressed by Cicero. This statue originally re-
 presented a Curtezan of the city of Tanagra in Boeotia;
 such was the object that Clodius, as little scrupulous
 in matters of religion as morality, proposed for the
 worship of the People.

Cic pro
Planc. &
Ep. ad
Fam. L.
XIV. &
ad Att. III.

Whilst Clodius triumphed, Cicero sought an asy-
 lum, and had difficulty to find one. Being arrived
 near the city of Vibo in Lucania, he passed some days
 in the lands of a man called Sica, and who had an
 employment under him during the time of his being
 Consul. His scheme was, as I have already said, to
 go into Sicily. But the Praetor, C. Virgilius, who
 had antient obligations to him, who had been more
 than once the Colleague of his brother, and who thought
 as he did upon the affairs of the Commonwealth, ne-
 vertheless refuses to receive him into his province. So
 few friends do the unfortunate find ! Cicero, excluded
 from the hope of a safe and tranquil retreat in Sicily,
 and not being willing, by a longer continuance, to
 bring his host Sica into danger, turned towards the
 upper sea, and went by land to the road leading from
 Vibo to Brundusium: He did not enter into that
 city, but kept himself concealed in the country-house
 of M. Lenius Flaccus, a generous man and a faithful
 friend, who despised the danger to which he exposed
 both his fortune and his life by entertaining a person
 that was proscribed: and who, without being intimi-
 dated by the punishment pronounced by an unjust
 and criminal law, rendered to Cicero, for thirteen
 days together, all the offices of a noble and courage-
 ous hospitality.

It would have been a great satisfaction to our fu-
 gitive to have had the company of Atticus; he de-
 sired him to come thither to him, and he reckoned

upon

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upon going with him into Epirus, where this friend had a large estate. It was a thing impossible; and Cicero looked upon this disappointment as another misfortune joined to those with which he was already loaded. However, Atticus was not useless to him at Rome, but rendered him effectual services, and better worth than the consolation he might have given him by his presence. Cicero was therefore obliged to embark at Brundusium by himself, which he did on the last day of April, and went to *Dyrrachium, a City, *Durazzo in Alba-nia.

Atticus had invited him to retire to his estate in Epirus. But a residence there did not please Cicero, especially on account of the neighbourhood of a great number of the antient friends of Catiline, who, since the defeat of their party, being forced to quit Italy, had dispersed themselves in Achaia, and the rest of Greece. Above all, he feared Autronius, one of the most audacious and most powerful of these exiles. He was the Colleague of P. Sylla, named with him for the Consulship, and deprived with him of that employment by a solemn judgment for canvassing, and who afterwards entered into both the conspiracies of Catiline. Cicero therefore not thinking it safe for him to remain in Greece, designed to have crossed Macedonia, and have gone by sea to Cyzica in the Propontida; but the zeal of one friend hindered him from going so far out of Italy.

This friend was Cn. Plancius, actually Quæstor under Q. Apuleius Prætor of Macedonia. Plancius was no sooner informed of the arrival of Cicero at Dyrrachium, but he ran thither, without Lictors, without any marks of his dignity, and expressed all the concern for him, with which he was really touched. He brought him to Theffalonica, where he had a palace as Quæstor, and engaged him to stay there for several months, although Cicero, affrighted by fresh advices of the ill designs that were forming against him by the conspirators I have mentioned, was much inclined

A. R. 694. clined to go into Asia. Plancius restrained him by
 Ant. C. kind of violence; he continued near him to watch for
 58. his safety; and employed himself so much in the du-
 ties of friendship, that he preferred them even to those
 of his office. The courage of the Quæstor was the
 more to be commended, as his Prætor did not set him
 the example; who, though he pitied and loved Cicero,
 durst not shew his sentiments outwardly, for the fear
 he had of Clodius.

It was in this retreat that Cicero, for a long time, waited his being recalled, with an impatience and an abjection of mind little worthy so great a genius. His misfortunes at first cast him down so much, that he had thoughts of putting an end to his life; but Atticus dissuaded him from that design, by exhorting him to preserve himself for better times. But if Cicero consented to live, it was but to weep over his ill-fortune. The letters to his wife, to his brother, to Atticus, are all full of lamentations. He incessantly represents to himself all the most afflicting circumstances of his disgrace; and if he stops a while, it is for fear of too much increasing his pain, and because his tears blot what he writes. He would not see his brother, who returned from his government of Asia, fearing he should be too much affected, and especially when they were to part. He would admit of no consolation, if it was not that of being soon recalled. But yet he was so much discouraged, that he always doubted of success, and the most favourable dispositions for that purpose could hardly revive the hope of it in his heart. His grief went so far, that it was reported at Rome, that he was gone mad: that this report was false, sufficiently appears in his letters; but all the wit he had, he employed to torment himself. He continually recalled to his mind the faults which he thought he had committed, and reproached himself with great severity for them. I confess I can see but one, which was his relying too much on the vague promises of Pompey, and of having, in conse-
 quence of the confidence he placed in him, refused the

the employment of Lieutenant-General, which Cæsar A. R. 694
offered him. But was it for a wise man to waste him- Ant. C.
If in unprofitable repinings at what was passed ? 58.

What seems to me yet less excusable, were the complaints he made against his friends, even against Atticus himself, to whom he wrote. It so ill becomes man like Cicero, to have any of the faults of vulgar minds, that I cannot forgive him for quarrelling, in his misfortunes, with every thing about him. According to his own account, Atticus had not failed in fidelity, but in activity and zeal ; and for want of interesting himself warmly enough in Cicero's dangers, had not furnished him, from the fund of prudence and knowledge he was master of, with all the resources he was able. As to Hortensius and some others, Cic. ad Q. Fr. I. 3. they were perfidious, and criminally abused the confidence he had placed in them. He attributed the cause of his ruin to them. "It was not, said he *, my enemies, but those who envied me, that were my destruction." And the foundation of all these rebukes was the advice they gave him to retire from Rome, rather than fight. It would not be difficult to justify Cicero's friends against himself and by himself.

In the first place, the sensible affliction of Atticus or the misfortune of his friend, is attested by the same letters, wherein Cicero complains of him : and the services which he did him during his exile, with regard to himself and all that belonged to him, his wife, his brother, his children, are indubitable proofs of the interest he took in his dangers. Men do not cherish those in disgrace, for whom they had a coolness, when they could support themselves.

As to what regards Hortensius, Cicero had for a long time accused him as being envious of him. It is Cic. ad Att. I. 20. principally Hortensius he means, when he represents II. 1, &c. as jealous of his glory those lovers of their fish-ponds and their carp, of whom he makes a jest in more than

* *Nos non inimici, sed invidi perdiderunt.* Cic. ad Att. III. 9.

A. R. 694. one place of his letters to Atticus. It is certain that
 Ant. C. 58. the sticklers for the aristocracy, such as was Horten-
 tius, had no reason to be well satisfied with Cicero.
 They had always opposed Pompey, looking upon many commands that were heaped upon him against all rule, as what might lead him to despotic power. Cicero, on the contrary, before he was Consul, had made his court to Pompey, and since his Consulship was in a strict alliance with him. Nevertheless, rigid Republicans reunited themselves about Cicero when they saw him attacked. Hortenius in particular, charged himself, as we have said, with a deposition in his favour to the Consuls; and in acquitting himself of that office, thought he should have lost his life. This assuredly was not the behaviour of a perfidious man, and a traitor. If he advised him to tire, Cato, according to Plutarch, had done the same, and Cicero declares to Atticus, that he had no reason to complain of Cato. To what then are to be attributed his reproaches, so bitter and so often repeated against Hortensius, but to a chagrin that got the better of him, and an ill humour sharpened by misfortunes? Let us deplore the weakness of human nature, and by the example of so great a genius, well cultivated, and nevertheless so much cast down by disgrace; let us conceive that we ought not to depend upon our constancy, at least till it is put to the trial.

It was not the fault of Atticus, if his friend shew no more courage. He had frequently, though with mildness, given him advice upon this article; but was not listened to, and Cicero justified the excess of his grief by the excess of his misfortune. When he was re-established in Rome, and his enemies reproached him with this softness of soul, he gave it another turn, and pretended to make a virtue of it. "I am ProDomino. sensible," said he, of a lively and cruel affliction;

97.

* Accepi magnum atque incredibilem dolorem: non nego, ne istam mihi adscisco sapientiam, quam nonnulli in me requirebant.

confess it, and do not go about to make a parade of a pretended wisdom, which those required of me who could I, in seeing myself torn from so many objects dear to me, which I shall not here enumerate, before I cannot to this day think of them without shedding tears, could I renounce my humanity, and throw off the resentments of nature? In this case I should not have deserved any praise for the part I took in rendering; nor could I expect that the Commonwealth would think itself beholden to me for a benefit, if I had quitted for her only those things which I could have divested myself of with ease. Such a hardness of soul, like that of a body that cannot feel when it is burnt, would be insensibility, and not virtue. To expose one self to the most piercing sorrow, and suffer alone, while the city enjoyed a flourishing condition, the ills which the vanquished endure from the enemy when a town is taken; to see one's self separated from every object of one's love; to see one's House destroyed, one's goods plundered; and one self drove from one's country even for the good of that country; to be de-voided of all the most valuable privileges and advan-

ci me animo nimis fracto esse atque afficto loquebantur. An ego teram, quum à tot rerum tantâ varietate divellerer, quas idcirco etereo quid ne nunc quidem sine fletu commemorare possum, infire me esse hominem, & communem naturæ sensum repudiare? Tum rò neque illud meum factum laudabile, nec beneficium ullum à me Rempublicam profectum dicerem, si quidem ea Reipublicæ causâ aliquissem quibus æquo animo carerer: camque animi duritiam, sicut corporis, quod quum uritur non sentit, stuporem potius quam virtutem putarem. Suscipere tantos animi dolores, atque ea quæ captae accident victis, stante urbe unum perpeti, & jam se videre di-ahi à complexu suorum, disturbari tecta, diripi fortunas patriæ: unque causâ patriam ipsam amittere, spoliari populi Romani Bene-uis amplissimis, præcipitari ex altissimo dignitatis gradu, videre extatos inimicos, nondum morte complorata, arbitria petentes peris, hæc omnia subire conservandorum civium causâ, atque ita dolentur absis, non tam sapiens quam ii qui nihil curant, sed tam tuorum ac tui, quam communis humanitas postulat; ea laus clara atque divina. Nam qui ea quæ nunquam cara & jucunda duxit animo æquo Reipublicæ causâ deserit, nullam benevolentiam signem in Rempublicam declarat. Qui autem ea relinquit, Reipub-licæ causâ, à quibus cum summo dolore divellitur, ei patria cara est, ius salutem caritati ante ponit suorum. Cic. pro Domo, 97, 98.

A. R. 694. tages of the Roman People ; and precipitated from
 Ant. C. the highest degree of fortune and splendor ; to behold
 58. greedy enemies before the funeral of him they persecute paying themselves the charges of it ; to suffer these evils for the preservation of one's fellow citizens and that with feeling, with grief, and not in pluming one's self with so much wisdom, that nothing affects but by retaining all that love for one's self, and one own which nature inspires : this is what I call an admirable and divine glory. For him who renounces without pain, in consideration of the Commonwealth what was never dear to him, what does he do for the Commonwealth ? What does he sacrifice to it ? But he who, for the service of his country, abandons the things from which he cannot tear himself without extreme pain, he is an excellent citizen, to whom his country is really dear, since he prefers the safety of to all things that are the most dear to him in the world." This apology is well turned, and would be without reply, if between a savage insensibility and an effeminate softness there was not a medium, mean that greatness of soul, which does not feel sense of pain, but which moderates and triumphs over it.

It is impossible not to agree with Plutarch, that from a genius adorned with so much fine knowledge one has a right to expect more constancy in adversity and so much the more as Cicero piqued himself upon his philosophy, and would have his friends not call him orator, but philosopher, pretending that he had embraced philosophy as his object by choice, and had made use of eloquence only as a necessary instrument to every one who would enter into the administration of public affairs. "But * , adds this wise historian, the torrent of opinion has a terrible force in effacing from the mind the tincture of all that study and learn-

* Αλλ' οὐ δέξα σώμη τὸ λόγον ἀσπερ βασιν ἀποχλίσας τὸ φυχῆς, οὐ ταῦτα λάτη, ἀνομόδεσθαι πάθει δι', οριστὰν καὶ συνδίαιν τοῖς πολιτιωμένοις, ἐν μίαν μολα φυλατθέμενος ὅτῳ συμφέρεται τοις πράγμασι πιθῶν συμμετέσθαι. Plin. CIC.

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58.

g have introduced into it, and communicate the
per-
ces of the multitude to those who undertake to go-
ffer a
ern them, by the commerce they are obliged to have
tizen-
th them. A man in a public capacity can never
lumin-
ift this powerful seduction, at least if he does not
affec-
ways keep himself upon his guard, and if he has
d one
an a
ounco
t any regard to the passions that gave rise to that
wealth-
finesse."

Much about the same time that Cicero was obliged
to banish himself from Rome, Cato departed for the
island of Cyprus; whither Clodius sent him: and Cæ-
out of having thus drove from the Commonwealth the
om h
o men he most feared, had no longer any reason
ty of to keep himself in the neighbourhood of the city;
in th
t had reason to remove out of it. For the Parti-
ould b
s of the Aristocracy, beginning to recover from
ity a
the consternation they had been thrown into by the
ium, c
hship of Cæsar, and the violence exercised upon
ot fil
cero, thought of acting against the oppressor of
iump
ublic liberty. Two Prætors, L. Domitius and C.
emmius, would have the acts of Cæsar's Consulship
h, th
omitted to an enquiry of the Senate, with a design
wledge
have them broken. His Quæstor was brought to Suet. Cæs.
verity
examination. And he himself seeing he was at-
f upo
ked by the Tribune L. Antistius, implored the
not c
cour of the other Tribunes, to enjoy the benefit of
he h
t law, which screens those from all prosecution who
and ha
absent for the service of the state, and hastened
trum
before his departure.

After he was gone away, Vatinus, who had so well Cic. in
served him the preceding year, was also accused at Vatin.
Tribunal of the Prætor Memmius. Vatinus was
equally invested with the employment of Lieutenant-
General under Cæsar, and of consequence had a title
to be dispensed with from answering to the accusation.
But he was willing to act the part of an honest man,
which very little became him: and, as if he entirely
relied on his innocence, he returned from the pro-
vince,

A. R. 694. vince, where he was already got, and made a shew of the
 Ant. C. 58. putting himself upon his trial. It is very likely he
 thought the credit of Cæsar would bring him off without any danger; but when he found he had deceived himself, and the affair was carrying on, he began to be afraid, and implored the protection of the Tribunes, and that of Clodius by name, to excuse his presenting himself before the Judges. The thing was without example; and how exorbitant soever the power of the Tribunes was, they had always respected the order of justice. As therefore the Prætor went on in his way, Clodius and Vatinius had recourse to violence, which was their ordinary resource. Followed by a body of armed men, they came to attack the Prætor upon his Tribunal, putting him to flight, breaking the benches of the Judges, and throwing down the urns which were to receive the ballots whereon the Suffrages were written. The accused had a great deal of difficulty to save their lives. Thus Vatinius accused, even in a court of judicature, committed all the crimes to punish which such a court had been established. What madness! How could Rome subsist by overthrowing all laws, and all that policy, which is the foundation of human society? Ought we to be surprized that the Republican government was at last destroyed? Or ought we not rather to be surprized, that it was able to maintain itself for some years longer?

Suet. ubi
supra.

All these accusations did not leave Cæsar without some uneasiness, and were a warning to him always to procure to himself the friendship and support of the Magistrates who were employed every year. It was one of the greatest cares all the time he spent in his Province; and he spared neither pains, nor money, of which, with this view, he was most incredibly profuse. I remit to the following book his first exploit in the Gauls: and am going to give here an account of the commission given by Clodius to Cato.

Ptolomy reigned in the island of Cyprus, who had often had the portion of a younger son of the house

of the Lagides. He was brother to Ptolomy Auletes, ^{A. R. 694.} who reigned in Egypt, and both were bastard sons of ^{Ant. C. 58.} Ptolomy Lathyres. I have spoke elsewhere of a testament of Ptolomy Alexander, the last legitimate Prince of the house of the Lagides, which made the Roman People heir to all his rights; and I have said, that Cæsar, after his Ædileship, would have made the rest of the Testament true or false, but that he was prevented by most of the better sort, and by the most moderate of the Senate. The condition of the two Ptolomys was therefore very uncertain, as well on account of their birth as of the pretensions that the People of Rome had to the Kingdoms they possessed. It was for this reason that Auletes bought the protection of Pompey and Cæsar so dear, that by their credit he might be acknowledged for King of Egypt by the Senate and People of Rome, which he succeeded in under the Consulship of Cæsar. His brother, who, among other vices, was sordidly covetous, would not be at the like expence, and found himself but ill off. Clodius in his Tribuneship caused the testament of Alexander and the pretensions of the Roman People to be revived, at least to the island of Cyprus, and proposed a law to strip Ptolomy of it, and to reduce it to a Roman Province.

A motive of revenge animated him against this unhappy King. Clodius, several years after he had ^{XIV. p. 684. Apian. Civil.} quitted the army of Lucullus, having risen against his general, and retired into Cilicia to Q. Marcius Rex, ^{L. II. p. 441. Dio. I. xxxv.} who made him admiral of his fleet, was taken by the pirates. As he was without money he addressed himself to Ptolomy King of Cyprus, to get wherewithal to pay his ransom. This covetous Prince, to whom such an expence was very displeasing, sent but two talents. The Pirates would not receive so pitiful a sum, and chose rather to give their prisoner his liberty for nothing, as they dared not detain him, through the fear they had of Pompey, who then commanded the sea. Clodius, a long time after, coming to be Tribune,

A. R. 694. bune, remembered this injury, and to revenge it, was
 Ant. C. resolved to dethrone Ptolomy.
 58.

I have told for what reasons he cast his eyes on
 Plut. Cat. Cato for this odious employment. The first day he
 had it in charge, he sent for him, and told him, that
 knowing him to have more integrity than any other
 Roman, he was desirous to give him an effectual proof
 of his esteem, and confidence in him. That several
 of the most illustrious citizens had put in for the com-
 mission to reduce the island of Cyprus, the King of
 which possessed very great treasures; but that Cato
 alone was worthy of an employment, which required
 the most perfect disinterestedness; and that he was
 therefore preferred to all others. Cato cried out,
 that such a preference was not a benefit, but a snare,
 and an affront. Clodius, then assuming an air of in-
 solence and disdain, said, “ Well, if you are not
 “ willing to go with a good grace, you must be forced
 “ to it, whether you will or no.” And in fact he
 proposed, and got a law to pass, for sending Cato,
 with the authority of Praetor into the island of Cyprus
 to dethrone King Ptolomy; and, as if this commission
 was not burthensome enough of itself, he added to it,
 that of re-establishing the exiles of Byzantium. His
 scheme was to give Cato employment for a long time
 out of Rome, that he might not find him in his way,
 during the whole year of his Tribuneship. He boasted
 also, that by this * he had tore out the tongue of
 Cato, that was always speaking with such force against
 the commands given to private persons. The free-
 dom of such language was to be no longer allowed
 him, according to Clodius, since he was now in the
 same case.

It is true, that the command given to Cato was not
 in the common course, but it could not assuredly seem
 dangerous to the Commonwealth: for Cato received

* Lingua se evellisse M. Catoni, quæ semper contra extraordinariae potestates libera fuisset. CIC. pro Sext. n. 60.

his commission quite naked, without any forces to put it in execution; there was not given him one ship, nor one soldier, but only a Quæstor with two Secretaries, one of them a noted extortioner, and the other a client of Clodius.

A. C. 69
Ant. C.
53.

There was indeed no need of a fleet or army. As soon as the unfortunate King of Cyprus heard the news of the decree that passed against him at Rome, he thought it impossible for him to resist the Roman power, he despaired of his affairs, and thought not of fighting, but of dying. Only he thought at first to revenge himself of the robbers that were coming to despoil him, by disappointing them of their prey. To this end he loaded all his riches on board several vessels, and put out to sea, with a design to sink his little fleet to the bottom, and to drown himself with all he possessed. But mean slave * to his gold, he had not the courage to lose it, even when he condemned himself to death: but, as if he had taken care to preserve it for the Romans, he ordered it to be carried back to his palace.

Before he had executed the resolution he had taken of dying, Canidius a friend of Cato's arrived; and proposed from him to Ptolomy, to yield to his bad fortune, and to accept, as an indemnification for what was to be taken from him, the title and revenues of Priest of the temple of Venus at Paphos. Ptolomy was fully determined not to struggle, with forces far unequal, against a power that had absorbed all the Kingdoms of the Universe: but he would not resolve to degrade himself, and rest satisfied with a condition inferior to that he had already enjoyed; and chose rather to make away with himself by poison.

Cato had stopt at Rhodes, waiting the success of the negotiation of Canidius. As soon as he heard of the death of Ptolomy, he sent Brutus, his Nephew,

* Non fuit inuitus nergere aurum & argentum sed futurum suæ necis præmium domum revexit. Procul dubio hic non possedit divitias, sed à divitiis possessus est; titulo Rex insulæ, animo pecunia misera, bille mancipium,

away

A. R. 694 away with all expedition, to be, as it were, a supervisor over Canidius, and to prevent the embezzling the King of Cyprus's treasures; for the rigid Cato distrusted almost all the world, and even his friends. For himself, he went to Byzantium, where it was not difficult, with the power wherewith he was armed, and with the authority his virtue gave him, to re-establish peace and concord, by bringing back those into their country, who had been driven out of it by an opposite faction.

Dio, L.
xxxix.

Plut.

He came at length into the island of Cyprus, the People of which received him with joy, because they hated their King, and hoped to be treated with more mildness by the Romans. He therefore found no difficulties with respect to the political dispositions that he was to make in this new province of the Empire. His only employment was to prepare the inventory of the King's treasures, and to sell the moveables and jewels of the palace. It is superfluous, and almost injurious to Cato, to observe, that in the management of this affair he shewed the most perfect integrity. But he rather strained this virtue too high, as he did most others, and piqued himself upon a most rigorous exactness. He raised every thing he sold to the highest price, and was present at all himself, suspecting every one about him, door-keepers, clerks, purchasers, friends: he spoke himself to those who came to buy, endeavouring, if the expression may be allowed, to draw in customers for his goods. This stiffness, which would have been indecent in a private person, acting for his own interest, was it commendable in a matter relating to the public revenue? For my part, I cannot persuade myself that it was so. Fidelity and exactness are necessary, but without prejudice to humanity and moderation. By this conduct Cato disengaged several of those who had been always attached to him, and in particular the oldest and best of his friends, Munatius, who continued at variance with him for a long time. And this was one of the reproaches upon which Cæsar dwells the longest in his

Anti-

Anticatones. The diligence of Cato answered the A.R. 694.
end. The spoils of the King of Cyprus, by his care Ant. C.
amounted to near seven thousand talents, or one mil- 52.
lion and fifty thousand pounds sterling. Of all this Plin.
rich prey Cato reserved to himself only a statue of xxxiv. 8.
Zeno, the chief and author of the Stoic sect; and vii. 30.
what made this statue valuable to him, was neither the
richness of the matter it was formed of, nor the beauty
of the workmanship, but for the glory only of the
philosophy.

He took the greatest precaution in transporting
these riches; he distributed the money in several vases,
which each contained two talents and five hundred
drachma's, or three hundred and twelve pounds ten
shillings sterling. At the neck of each of these vases
was tied a long cord, at the end of which was a cork,
so that if there happened a shipwreck, the corks by
floating on the surface of the water might shew the
places where the vases might be sunk. The voyage
was very happy, with respect to the money, of which
there was but a very small matter lost. It was not so
with the books of accompts, which Cato had prepared
in the finest order with infinite pains. He had even Plut.
ordered two copies to be made, which he put on
board two different vessels for the greater security:
yet, spight of all this care, they were both lost in the
passage. This was a real mortification to Cato's va-
nity: for he was not under any apprehension, that his
integrity was suspected, and the less as he brought
with him the superintendants, and other people of
business belonging to the King of Cyprus, who had
seen all that was done: But he had been in hopes that
his accounts would have been kept in the archives of
the Commonwealth, to serve for a model to all those
who might be employed in an administration of the
like kind, and he was very sorry to be deprived of this
honour.

He did not return to Rome, till after a year had
passed away, under the Consulship of Lentulus Spin-
ther and Metellus Nepos. When he was near the
city,

A. R. 694⁴⁴ city, all the Senate, having the Consuls and Praetors
 Ant. C. at their head, and a great number of the People, went
 58. out to meet him. Cato shewed no regard to so great
 a mark of honour, which much shocked some people.
 He did not come on shore, nor order any of his ves-
 sels to stop; but employed himself wholly on the trust
 with which he was charged; he glided along by the
 banks which were crowded with spectators, and set
 not his foot on dry land but at the naval arsenal,
 where the ships of the King of Cyprus were to be put
 up, and among others a galley of six ranks of oars, on
 which Cato himself went on board. From thence he
 had carried in pomp before, cross the public Forum,
 the treasures which he had gathered together and pre-
 served with so much care; and this was a kind of tri-
 umph which drew to him the applauses of all the Peo-
 ple. The Senate also proposed to honour his virtue,
 and decreed him the Praetorship for the following
 year, with the right of assisting at the public games
 in the Toga prætexta. Cato refused these rewards,
 and would have no distinctions contrary to the com-
 mon laws and rights of citizens. He required only,
 and obtained it, that they would infranchise one of
 the King of Cyprus's superintendants, of whose ser-
 vices and fidelity he was particularly well satisfied.

Dio.

In the midst of the general admiration and esteem,
 Clodius alone took occasion to cavil with Cato for
 the loss of his books of accounts. He was supported
 in this by Cæsar, who, from Gaul, where he then
 made war, wrote to Clodius to engage him to harrahs
 and fatigue Cato. This was without any success, as
 also the report they had spread was without any pro-
 bability, that Cato had desired to be declared Praetor
 out of his rank for the year following; that it was at
 his request, that the Consuls had proposed it in the
 Senate; and that he had not given it up, but because
 he saw the affair was not likely to succeed. The
 known character of Cato sufficiently refuted the suspi-
 cions. He had another dispute with Clodius, on ac-
 count of the slaves of the King of Cyprus brought by
 him

him to Rome, and who were become the slaves of the Commonwealth. Clodius would have given them his name, because it was by virtue of a law carried by him, that Ptolomy had been stript of his Kingdom. The friends of Cato maintained, on the contrary, that the honour of naming them belonged to him, who had transmitted them into the possession of the Roman People, by dethroning their master, and reducing his Kingdom into a Province. They would therefore have had them all called Porcius, which was the family name of Cato: but they ended the dispute by calling them Cyprians.

I return now to the Consulship of Piso and Gabinius, during which Scaurus was Edile, who was at so prodigious an expence, that Pliny * does not scruple to say, that this example was one of the principal causes of the corruption of the manners of the age, of which we are speaking.

Scaurus was extremely rich. His father, the famous Scaurus, Prince of the Senate, under the appearance of rigid probity, neglected nothing, if we may believe Pliny, to enrich himself, however odious the means might be; and his mother Metella, having married Sylla after the death of old Scaurus, knew how to make her advantage of the time of the proscription, and had seized on the spoils of a great number of unhappy citizens. The goods so ill acquired were madly dissipated by him who became the heir to them. It is impossible not to be strongly surprized at the enormous expence that Scaurus was at in his AEdileship, for a theatre, the use of which was to last but for a month, and surpassed, in magnificence, those edifices which were built for eternity.

The scene was a large front of building of three stories, of which the first was of marble; the second, a thing incredible and singular, was of glass; the third was of wood gilt. This front was adorned with

* Cujus (Scauri) nescio an AEdilitas maximē prostraverit mores ci-
viles.

A. R. 694. three hundred and sixty columns of the finest marble
 Ant. C. Those at bottom were *thirty-eight feet high. In
 58. the intervals between the columns were placed three thousand bronzed statues, and an infinite number of pictures, among others all those of Sicyon, a city of the Peloponnesus, which had been the most famous school of painting, and which, being at that time extremely in debt, saw all her pictures seized by her creditors. Scaurus bought them, and transported them to his theatre. The part of the edifice designed for the spectators was big enough to hold four thousand souls, that is to say, double what the theatre of Pompey contained, which was built to remain some years after. In short, as to what belonged to the tapestry, and ornaments of all kinds, either for the decoration of the theatre, or the dresses of the actors, the quantity and richness of them was so prodigious, that what was superfluous, being carried by order of Scaurus to his country house at Tuscum, and this house being burnt some time after, the loss was computed at an hundred millions of sesterces, or six hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling.

Freinsh.
 CIV. 42.
 43. As to the spectacles, besides tragedies and comedies, of which we have no particular detail, Scaurus gave the combats of wrestlers, hitherto unknown in Rome, and only used in the cities of Greece. He caused a canal to be dug which he filled with water, and shewed to the People a hippopotamus and five crocodiles, animals that, till that time, had never been seen by the Romans. In the games of the Circus he produced an hundred and fifty panthers: and exposed to the view of the curious a skeleton of forty feet long, the ribs of which were higher than those of the Indian elephant, and which had a back-bone of a foot and a half broad. It was said, that this was the skele-

* I have translated Pliny literally, notwithstanding there appear here somewhat difficult to be understood. The distinction of the columns below and above supposes that the stories of glass and of gilt wood were garnished with columns of marble: and this does seem conformable to the rules of architecture.

on of the sea-monster which was to have devoured Andromeda near the town of Joppa^{*} in Palestine, and which was slain by Perseus. A.R. 49. Ant. C. 54.

Scaurus, after having been so profuse in giving a vain satisfaction to the People, was willing to satisfy himself in adorning and decorating his own house. When his theatre was demolished, he ordered some of the finest and highest marble columns that I have been speaking of, to be carried to form a fine peristy-
um, or colonade in his house. Pliny tells us, that the undertaker who had the care † of the public sewers, obliged Scaurus to give him security for the damage that might happen to the vaults of the Sewers, by carrying such enormous weights over them through the streets they were to pass. "How much more necessary would it have been, says that judicious writer, to have secured the public manners from the contagion of so pernicious an example?"

Behold all that Scaurus gained by so excessive an expence, a little unnecessary ornament to his house. From the rest he reaped no other fruits, but to ruin himself, and to contract many debts. He became the more rapacious, that, by his concussions, he might fill up the voids he had made by his unreasonable pomp, in his fortune.

To Scaurus, Pliny joins Curio, as an example of a folly of the like kind, and which may be looked upon as belonging to the same time, since it was but a few years ‡ after it. Curio was not near so rich as Scaurus, and had from his father but a moderate fortune, which he dissipated so much by his luxury, and debaucheries, as to be in debt sixty millions of sesterces,

* It is there that Pliny, Strabo, and Pomponius Mela, place the scene of this event. M. L'Abbé Bannier, Mytholog. T. III. L. II. c. 5. p. 117. endeavours to reconcile these authors with Ovid, who supposes this fact happened in Ethiopia.

† Satisfari sibi damni infecti coegerit redemptor cloacarum, quum in Palatium extraherentur. Non ergo in tam malo exemplō moribus cavere utilius fuerat? PLIN. xxxvi.

‡ It appears by the second letter of Caelius to Cicero, that Curio gave the games, and built a theatre under the Consulship of Sulpicius and Marcellus, in the year of Rome 701.

A. R. 694. (three hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds ster-
 Ant. C. ling) and which Cæsar paid for him, with design to
 53. bring him over to his party. Thus he had nothing
 for his patrimony, but, as Pliny * elegantly expres-
 it, the troubles of the State, and the discord of the
 principal citizens. Not being able therefore, in the
 funeral games which he thought proper to give in
 honour of his father's memory, to equal the magnifi-
 cence of Scaurus, he endeavoured to make it up by
 the singularity of the invention. He caused two the-
 atres of wood to be built neighbours to one another,
 which turned each on an axis. These theatres, which
 inclosed both the spectacles and the spectators, were
 at first set back to back; and dramatic pieces were
 given in each at the same time, performed by the ac-
 tors without their being heard or troubled by one an-
 other. In the afternoon of the same day, a half turn
 was given to both theatres, still filled with People,
 so that they formed a circle and an amphitheatre, in
 the middle of which were combats of the gladiators.
 This sport was repeated more than once, which ex-
 posed the lives of all the People; and the nation was
 mad enough to admire a diversion that might have
 been their destruction.

* —— ut qui nihil in censu habuerit, præter discordiam pri-
 cipum.

S E C T. II.

Mens favourable dispositions in the cause of Cicero. Pompey insulted by Clodius, returns to Cicero. The debate of the Senate, on the first of June, in favour of Cicero. The opposition of the Tribune Aelius. Combats between Clodius and Gabinius, who sided with Pompey. The arrival of Cicero's brother at Rome. The hatred of the public shews itself all manner of ways against Clodius. Clodius returns to the party of the rigid Republicans. Pompey fearing that Clodius might make some

C O N T E N T S.

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Some attempt upon his life, shuts himself up in his house. The Consuls still continue in opposition to Cicero. The Magistrates are appointed for the following year. New efforts of the Tribunes in favour of Cicero without effect. Cicero is much troubled at a decree of the Senate in favour of the Consuls appointed. Sextius, one of the appointed Tribunes, goes into Gaul to obtain Cæsar's consent to recall Cicero. Two Tribunes of the new College gained by the faction of Clodius. Lentulus proposes Cicero's business to the Senate. The advice of Cotta. The advice of Pompey. The Tribune Gavius prevents the conclusion of it. Eight Tribunes propose the affair to the People. The violence of Clodius. A great slaughter. Milo undertakes to put a stop to the fury of Clodius. His character. He accuses Clodius. He opposes force to force. A total suspension of affairs in Rome. The best part of the Commonwealth take the business upon themselves. Lentulus the Consul sends circular letters to all the People of Italy. The applauses of the multitude. Incredible movements in Rome and all through Italy in favour of Cicero. An assembly of the Senate in the Capitol, and a Senatus consultum for ordering Cicero's being recalled. An assembly of the People, wherein Lentulus and Pompey exhort and animate the citizens. A new decree of the Senate in favour of Cicero. A solemn assembly by centuries, wherein the affair is finally determined. Cicero's abode at Dyrrachium for eight months. His departure from that city. His triumphant entry into Rome. His houses in the city and in country rebuilt at the expence of the Republic. By Cicero's advice, the super-intendance of corn and provisions through all the Empire is decreed to Pompey. The murmurings of the rigid Republicans against Cicero. His answer. Pompey restores plenty to Rome. The violences of Clodius against Cicero and Milo. Clodius is chose Ædile. The death of Lucullus. A character of the eloquence of Callidius.

A. R. 694.

Ant. C.

58.

Cic. ubi

supra.

Dio.

Appian.

Piut.

Cic. pro

Domo,

84, 85.

WE left Cicero in his retreat at Theffalonice swallowed up in grief, although he had al ready reason to conceive some hopes of better fortune. Banished for the best cause in the world, he carried with him the concern of all good men in Rome, and throughout all Italy. They did not look upon him as an exile, but preserved to him all the rights of a citizen, except those that the violence of his enemy had torn from him. L. Cotta, who had been Censor, declared with an oath in the Senate that if he had been to prepare the tables of the Senators in the absence of Cicero, he should have put his name there, according to the rank that was due to him. No Judge was substituted in his place. None of his friends, in making their wills, failed of giving him the same legacies as if he had been present. No one, either citizen or ally of the Empire, let slip an occasion to shew him all sorts of respect, and did him all the services he had need of; and Plutarch affirms, that all Greece strove to give him the most laudable proofs of their affection and attachment to him. Lastly, the Senate, as soon as they had a ray of liberty, recommended him, as a precious trust, to all Kings and all Nations, and returned solemn thanks to all those who had taken care to preserve so excellent a citizen to the Commonwealth.

These sentiments had been for some time in the hearts of the Senators, and the greatest part of the Magistrates, before they dared let them appear; and how well inclined soever they were, they could only make use of their secret and impotent wishes, till they had the declaration of Pompey's being with them and by the incredible rashness and petulance of Clodius, it was not long before they procured this decisive advantage to the cause of Cicero, and gave him a Protector who had not abandoned him but with some regret.

Cicero went away in the beginning of April, and in the month of May Clodius began to insult Pompey.

Young

A. R. 674.
Ant. C.
52.

Young Tigranes had been made prisoner, as I have said, and led in triumph by this General, who afterwards gave him to the keeping of L. Flavius, one of his friends, and Praetor in the year which we are speaking of. Clodius, bribed by a sum of money, undertook to procure Tigranes the means of making his escape. Being at supper with Flavius at his house, he desired that he would bring the Prince to him. When Clodius saw him enter the hall, he placed him at the table, seized on his person, and refused to restore him, either to Flavius, or Pompey himself, who sent to re-demand him. After some time he put him on board a ship, that was to carry him to Asia: but a storm arising at the instant that he put off to sea, he was forced to come into harbour at Antium, which is but a small distance from Rome. The Tribune immediately sent Sex. Clodius, a man he could confide in, to bring the Prince back again to the City. Flavius, who had notice of what had happened, went himself with an armed force to retake his prisoner: and a battle was fought by the two parties in the Apian way. Several were killed on both sides, but the greatest number on that of Flavius, and, among others, Roman Knight, named M. Papirius, who was a friend of Pompey. Flavius was obliged to fly for it, and returned almost alone to Rome.

Pompey was extremely piqued at this insult. He was very angry that Clodius should turn against the force of the Tribuneship, of which he himself had re-established the power. His wrath against Clodius wakened in his breast his friendship for Cicero; and he engaged the faithful and zealous Mummius Quarratus to act openly for recalling him, whom this same Tribune had endeavoured by all manner of means to have from banishment. The Senate being assembled on the first of June, Mummius, upon the refusal of the Consuls, put Cicero's affair in debate. All voices would have united to order his being recalled; but the opposition of Aelius Ligur, a Tribune and friend of Clodius, prevented the Senate's making a decree.

A. R. 694. Nevertheless, this event re-animated the courage of Cicero's friends, and irritated the fury of Clodius. Ant. C. 58. He knew whom he ought to be angry with; and there was no method to displease Pompey, that he did not think of, and put in practice against him. Gabinus, the creature of Pompey, ranged himself on the side of his patron. From thence combats arose in the Forum, which oftentimes cost the lives of several of the combatants; and in one of them, the fasces of the Consul Gabinus were broke to pieces by the multitude attached to Clodius. "It was a pleasing spectacle to the Roman People, says Cicero, to see these two knaves, Gabinus and Clodius, fighting with one another. They waited the event with a perfect impartiality. Whoever of them was killed, it would be a gain: but the satisfaction would have been compleat, if they had both perished together." Clodius pushed his vengeance so far, as to employ religious ceremonies in consecrating the goods of Gabinus to the Goddess Ceres; and Mummius did the same by the goods of Clodius himself. But on both sides they were only vain menaces without any real effect.

During these debates, Cicero's brother arrived in Rome, with an equipage suitable to his grief, and was received by a great number of the best citizens who went out to meet him, mixing their tears with his. He came to back the solicitations and prayers of Cicero's son-in-law, Piso Frugi, a young man of great merit, and who shewed himself inviolably attached to the cause of his father-in-law; but who could not reap the fruits of his virtue, dying a little before his return. Terentia, the wife of Cicero, also performed every part of her duty: and so many supplications united, very much moved the compassion of the citizens.

On the contrary, the hatred of the publick shewed itself all manner of ways against Clodius. In all the

* Quo quidam in spectaculo mira populi Romani æquitas erat. Ut eorum perisset—in ejusmodi pari lucrum fieri putabat: immortalem verò quæstum, si uterque cecidisset. Cic. in Pis. n. 27.

games that were given this year to the people; he dared never shew himself, for fear of being hooted at, hissed, or perhaps something worse. Whoever had served him against Cicero, whatever busines he had, of what kind soever it might be, was condemned at all the Tribunals. The Roman Knights rallied, that they might unite their forces. The Senators not being able to get the Consuls to propose going into debate upon the affair of Cicero, threw by all others, and would not listen to any thing, till that which they looked upon as the principal was determined.

It was impossible but all these movements must make Clodius uneasy. But what appears to me the most singular in his conduct, was his pretending to act the part of an honest man, and a stickler for the rights of the Senate, and the Aristocracy. He knew that the rigid Republicans had at all times opposed Pompey, and could not suffer, but with pain, the authority he assumed in the Commonwealth. As therefore he found Pompey in his way, he turned towards that party which was against him. He said, both in the Senate and before the People, that the laws of Cæsar had been carried in contempt of the Auspices; but did not remember, as Cicero observes, that among those laws was that which made him a Plebeian. He produced Bibulus, the Collegue of Cæsar, upon the Tribunal of Harangues, and asked him, if he was not employed in observing the signs that appeared in the heavens, at the time that Cæsar carried his laws? Bibulus confirmed the fact, Clodius afterwards interrogated the Augurs, and asked them, if laws carried in such circumstances, were not void to all intents? They answered, that the thing was so. This wretch, without religion, as without morals, thus made them both a pretext to serve his interests.

He was so little ashamed of contradicting himself, Pro Do-
that he went so far as to say, that the Senate would mo, n. 40.
break the acts of Cæsar as contrary to the auspices,
and, for himself, he was ready to lend his shoulders
to bear back Cicero the saviour of the city.

A. R. 694. However absurd this farce was, the defenders
 Ant. C. 38. of the Aristocracy suffered themselves to be the dupes of it. They were so charmed with hearing Pompey decried in the popular assemblies, they no longer considered Clodius but as the enemy of him whom they hated. "Clodius decried Pompey by his invectives," says Cicero, * but he more really decried that great man, when he heaped on him his praises."

Cic. de Har. Resp. n. 49. If we may believe Cicero, Clodius was even mad enough to make an attempt upon the life of the first citizen of the Commonwealth. Our orator assures us in more than one place, that a slave of Clodius was apprehended, in the temple of Castor, with a poniard which he confessed he was armed with to kill Pompey. This is certain, that Pompey, after this adventure, shut himself up in his own house, and appeared no more in publick all the rest of the year, either in the Senate or elsewhere. But yet he was not at quiet in his house, for a freedman of Clodius, named Damasus, came to besiege him there, though to no purpose; but Clodius was insolent enough to threaten, in harangue to the People, that he would destroy Pompey's house as he had that of Cicero; and, like himself, + he declared, that he would build a portico in the quarter of Carinæ, (which was the part of Rome where Pompey's house was) which should answer to that he had built on Mount Palatine.

It was not to be hoped to vanquish this furious Tribune, while he was supported by the two Consuls. For Piso continued always faithful to him, and Gabinius, although he was at open war with Clodius, what related to Pompey, was not the more disposed to allow the Senators to deliberate on the recalling of Cicero. The pretext of the Consuls was, † that the

* Detrahat ille vituperando! Mihi, medius fidius, tum de amplissimâ dignitate detrahere, quum maximis laudibus efferebat, non debatur. Cic. de Har. Resp. n. 50.

+ Quum in concionibus diceret, velle se in Carinis ædificare alterum porticum, que Palatio responderet. Cic. de Har. Resp. in. 49.

† Non se semper improbare dicebant, sed lege istius impediti. In hoc verum; nam impediabantur, verum ea lege, quam adem sic Macedonia Syriaque iulerat. Cic. pro Domo, n. 70.

aw of Clodia prevented them. "Yes, says Cicero, he law that assigned them the government of Provinces, and not that which every citizen of Rome looked upon as law." The Praetor L. Domitius was not stopt by the prohibition of this unjust law; but offered to propose himself the affair to the Senate, since the Consuls refused it.

At length the Magistrates were appointed for the following year. Of the two Consuls named, one was P. Lentulus Spinther, a determined friend of Cicero, the other seemed rather disposed to hurt than serve him. This was Q. Metellus Nepos, a cousin of Clodius, and who moreover had had some very warm disputes with Cicero during his Tribune ship. He was nevertheless moderate enough to remain neuter, and we shall see, by what follows, that he even became favourable to the cause, which every day acquired new defenders.

Eight Tribunes, that is to say, all the college, except Clodius and *Æ*lius Ligur, who was devoted to him, proposed, on the 29th of October, a law for recalling Cicero, and brought the affair into debate in the Senate. The Consuls might insist on the law Clodia, and their prohibiting any one to propose, to debate, or conclude any thing in favour of Cicero's return: The Senate had no regard to it, and P. Lentulus, giving his opinion first in quality of Consul elect, spoke with great force of argument on the necessity of restoring as soon as possible to the Commonwealth a citizen they could not be without. The wishes of the Senate and all good men thus appeared on every occasion; but there was always something to retard the effects of them. And now the Tribune *Æ*lius a second time stopped the Senate by his opposition.

Although Lentulus was very zealous for the re-establishment of Cicero, he nevertheless, with his future Colleague, gave him a good deal of uneasiness. The two Consuls appointed were desirous to make use of the governments of the provinces they expect-

A.R. 694. Ant. C. 58. ed after their Magistracy ; and even, which was never done, that from that instant their provinces should be ornated, so the Romans expressed it, that is to say, the number and quality of the troops should be assigned, that they were to command ; their general-officers named ; the sums of money, the ammunition, and all things necessary for their governments settled. The Senate granted what they required, even with the consent of Cicero's friends. For himself, he was very sorry for it, for two principal reasons ; The first was, that the Consuls elect having no longer any thing to hope or to fear, were more free and independent ; and that the credit of Cicero's friends being henceforth of no farther use to them, no motive of personal interest would attach them to his cause. Moreover, this decree of the Senate in favour of Lentulus and Metellus Nepos, was a breach of that law they had made not to deliberate on any affair, till that of Cicero was determined. Nothing was more honourable for him than such a resolution, and therefore it is not surprising, that he should be concerned at losing this advantage. However, his disquiets were vain ; and Lentulus, although he had no longer any self-interest in it, did not serve him with the less fidelity and courage.

Cic. pro
Sext. n. 70. The Tribunes elect seemed to be all well-inclined to Cicero, and eight of them remained attached to his cause. Among these Sextius signalized his zeal, even before he entered upon his office. The friends of Cicero knew they could not succeed, if Caesar did not support them ; at least, if he did not cease to oppose them. Sextius took a journey into Gaul, to determine that General, whose credit, even in his absence, was so great in Rome, to lay aside his resentment : But it seems that the solicitations of Sextius had but little effect. Caesar could not, with any goodwill, agree to the recalling a man, whose superior understanding, and whose attachment to the cause of public liberty, rendered him too much suspected by him. If he did not oppose it in the end, it was

but

put in consideration of Pompey, who would have A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

As soon as the new Tribunes entered upon their charge, and began among themselves to prepare the law for recalling Cicero, the two who were privately brought over by the faction of Clodius, declared themselves; these were Numerius Quintius Gracchus, and Sex. Atilius Gavianus, men otherwise unknown, and whom our Orator represents as every way deserving contempt. The other eight persevered in their laudable design: And they had one great advantage over those of the preceding year, in that they were powerfully supported by one of the Consuls, Lentulus Spinther, who, from the first of January, acted agreeably to the same generous declarations he had made whilst only in nomination.

P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER.

A. R. 695.

Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

Ant. C.

57.

The first assembly of the Senate, in which the new Consuls presided, was very numerous. All the People were in great attention, as well as the Deputies of all the cities of Italy, who were come thither to bring their addresses to the Capital. Lentulus proposed the affair of Cicero, and spoke with that dignity and courage that perfectly well became his place; and his Colleague promised, that, in deference to the Senate, and with a view to the public good, he would reconcile himself to a citizen, so universally esteemed and desired,

It was afterwards put to the vote. L. Cotta, an old Consul and an old Censor, gave his opinion the first, and in a manner that was singular; but as disgraceful to Clodius, as it was honourable to Cicero. He maintained, that nothing that had been done against Cicero, was juridical or according to rule; that the law of Clodius against him was no law but a violation of all laws; that of consequence his retreat ought not to be looked upon but as the effect of violence

A. R. 625. violence on one part, and on the other as the great
 Ant. C. love of his country, which made Cicero chuse rather
 37. to sacrifice himself, than be the occasion of slaughter
 and the effusion of the blood of citizens. He con-
 cluded, that since he had not been banished by any
 law, he had no need to be recalled by a law, and
 that the desire of the Senate was sufficient.

This manner of reasoning was the most flattering
 to the cause of Cicero, but it was not the safest for his
 person. Pompey, who spoke next, agreed to the just-
 ness of Cotta's reflections, but said, that, nevertheless,
 to put Cicero out of danger of popular commo-
 tions, he thought it proper that the Suffrages of the
 People should be joined to the authority of the Senate,
 and that the Consuls should propose a law to annul
 that of Clodius, and order the re-establishment of
 Cicero. This advice was approved not by the major-
 ity only, but unanimously, when the Tribune Atilius
 Gavianus, without opposing it in form, demanded that
 the conclusion of the business might be deferred till
 another day: This could not be refused him, and so
 the affair was dropt.

The eight Tribunes took it up again: and Q. Fa-
 bricius at their head prepared, on the 23d of January,
 to hold an Assembly, to deliberate on the law which
 he had proposed some days before. Clodius did not
 waste time in making an opposition, or cavil about
 formalities. His brother Appius, who was Praetor
 this year, had the gladiators, who were to give a spec-
 tacle to the People. Clodius joining a pack of ruffians
 to them taken out of dungeons, let them loose upon
 the friends of Cicero. Cispius, one of the Tribunes,
 was wounded. Q. Cicero saved his life only by hid-
 ing himself till he could find a way to make his escape
 by flight. The slaughter was so great, that the Tiber
 and the common sewers were almost choaked up by
 the great number of dead bodies thrown into them, and
 the publick Forum drowned in a river of blood.

The rage of Clodius did not stop here; and in a
 quarrel that happened, without our knowing distinctly

the cause of it, between the Tribune Sextius and the Consul Metellus Nepos, although this Tribune did nothing but according to the duty of his office, he found himself, on a sudden, attacked, and brought down to the ground, where he was left for dead, having about twenty wounds upon him. A Tribune, whose person was sacred, assassinated in the exercise of his office, was an attempt that seemed very atrocious; therefore Clodius feared the consequences of it: but it is hardly to be imagined what an expedient he thought of to deceive the People. He resolved to cause Numerius Quintius to be killed, who was a Tribune of his own faction, so that his death might be imputed to the friends of Cicero, and that the hatred occasioned by the death of a Tribune might be divided between him and his adversaries. Happily for Quintius, his Colleague Sextius did not find himself mortally wounded; but the first was in danger, as long as the life of the second was uncertain.

Against such violences there was no resource but in force. Sextius, to secure his life, was obliged to raise men, and place a guard about his person. Milo, one of his Colleagues; and him of all the Tribunes, who, with the greatest generosity and perseverance, supported the cause of Cicero, being, of consequence, exposed to the same dangers with Sextius, took also the same precaution.

Milo was a man whose courage carried him even to daring, and by that he was more capable than any one to repress the furious temerity of Clodius: therefore from the time that he first entered the lists with him, during his Tribuneship, their combats continued, without peace or truce, till they were determined by the death of one, and the banishment of the other. The birth of Milo seems to have been illustrious; but among those families, which without being antiently Romans, held, nevertheless a distinguished rank in Italy. He was of Lanuvium, and son of one Papius, a name famous in the social war. For himself, he was adopted by his maternal grand-father, and, in consequence

Ascon.
Ped. in
Mil:

A. R. 695. sequence thereof, took the name of Annius. He mu
 Ant. C.
 57.
 have been upon a very considerable footing at Rome
 since he made a very brilliant alliance there a few years
 after, having married Fausta, daughter of the Dictator
 Sylla: but more than all other recommendation,
 personal merit put him in a condition to pretend
 to every thing. He proposed to raise himself by the way
 of honour; and the cause of Cicero seemed to him a
 fair occasion to draw to himself the esteem and affection
 of all good men. He signalized his virtue in a very
 glorious manner, animated the more, if we may be
 lieve Appian, by Pompey, who shewed him a pro-
 pect of the Consulship for his reward.

As he saw that the horrible excesses to which Clodius gave himself up every day, tended to nothing but to take away all hopes of re-establishing Cicero, and entirely to discourage the good citizens, and to make the licentiousness of a madman prevail in the city, he resolved to attack him, by the laws, which pretended to impose every thing by force: he accused him in form, as guilty of violences in contempt of the public tranquility. This bold step disconcerted Clodius, who having Milo for his accuser, could not hope to corrupt his Judges a second time. All his hope was to elude judgment, and for this he found a support on the side of the Magistrates. The Consul Metellus his cousin, the Praetor A. Claudius his brother, a Tribune of the People his creature, caused orders to be set up, which was without example in Rome, to stop the course of justice. These Magistrates forbade the accused to appear, that he should be cited, or informations made against him.

The protection * of the laws and of judgment being thus refused Milo, he was either to abandon so fair a cause as that he had undertaken, or by exposing him-

* Quid ageret vir ad virtutem, dignitatem, gloriam, natus, sceleratorum hominum corroborata, legibus iudicisque sublatu? Cervice. Tribunus plebis privato, præstantissimus vir præfigatissimo homini daret? An causam suscepit affigeret? an se domi contineret? Et vinci turpe putavit, & deterreri. Cic. pro. Sext. n. 89.

A. R. 63.
Ant. C.
57.

Post. red.
in Sen.
n. 7.

elf without defence to the fury of an armed adversary, become the victim of it. He thought it would be shameful for him, either meanly to desist, or to suffer himself to be overcome; therefore he took the method of hiring the gladiators, and encompassing himself about with armed men, who might resist those by which his enemy was accompanied wherever he went. But he had care to keep himself within the bounds of a necessary defence, and employed no force but when he was attacked by Clodius. The battles between them were frequent; Milo's house was assailed more than once by the party of Clodius, and always well defended. The Consul Lentulus was not spared himself; but the factious broke his fasces. Every quarter of the city became a field of battle, where oftentimes much blood was shed. From so much disorder this advantage, at least, was drawn, that Clodius did not reign, and every-where found an antagonist who made head against him, and very often gained the victory over him.

This little sort of intestine war, joined to the resolution long since taken, of getting Cicero's affair to pass before any other, reduced to silence the Tribunals, the assemblies of the People, and that of the Senate. All things were suspended: no audiences given by the Senate to Ambassadors, no judgments, no decrees of the People. A condition so violent could not be of long continuance. One of the contending parties must necessarily put an end to it, by getting the better of the other: and happily it was the best that triumphed.

All the splendor and all the majesty of the Commonwealth was on this side. Both the Consuls (for Metellus at least was not against it) all the Prætors, except the brother of Clodius, eight of the Tribunes of the People, protected the cause of Cicero. So great an authority, supported by the courage and party of Milo, made itself at length respected by those who had at first made an opposition to it: And Lentulus, by virtue of a *Senatusconsultum*, which nobody had dared

A. R. 695. dared to oppose, sent circular letters through all Italy
 Ant. C.
 57. to invite those who had any regard for the safety
 the State to come to Rome, to concur in the re-es-
 blishment of Cicero : A procedure without example
 Pro Sext. m. 128. not only for the interests of a private man, but even
 in the common dangers of the whole Republic.

Pro Sext. 116, 117. The news of this Senatusconsultum * being im-
 mediately carried to a spectacle of the gladiators
 where there happened to be a great number of peo-
 ple, it was received with inexpressible transports of
 joy. Every Senator who came to this spectacle at his
 coming from the Senate was applauded ; but when
 the Consul himself, who gave the games, arrived then,
 and had taken his place, all the Senators rose ; and
 stretching out their arms towards him, testified their
 joy and their acknowledgment by tears, which plainly
 made it appear how dear Cicero was to the Roman
 People.

Upon the invitation of the Consul and the Senate,
 there were both in Rome and all Italy incredible
 movements in favour of Cicero. Every one was wil-
 ling, according to the example set them by the first
 assembly of the State, to shew their zeal for the re-
 establishment of so illustrious a proscript. In Rome,
 and round about it, the Roman Knights, all the So-
 cieties interested in the revenues, the order of Not-
 aries, even all the trading Companies, and all Com-
 munities of inhabitants in the neighbouring country
 towns, assembled, and formed decrees honourable to
 Cicero. The several people of Italy did the same.
 Pompey himself gave the signal to all the municipal
 towns, and to all the colonies ; for being actually
 the first Magistrate of Capua, he caused a new decree
 to be made by this colony, which served for a model
 to all the rest. After which he was zealous enough
 to go into several of these towns, and encourage the in-
 habitants to follow the example he had set them.

* I suppose that this Senatusconsultum was that made in the temple
 of Honour and Virtue built by Marius.

there was an universal fermentation in Italy, which
A.R. 695.
Ant. C.
57.
at a prodigious multitude of citizens from all parts
Rome.

Lentulus seeing himself so powerfully supported, invoked a celebrated and numerous assembly of the Senate in the Capitol. It was there that the Consul Metellus Nepos suffered himself to be entirely reconciled to the cause of Cicero. P. Servilius Isauricus, respectable old man, a former Consul and Censor, adorned with the honour of a triumph, and father of a Consul, addressed himself to him in a moving and pathetic exhortation. He recalled to mind the attachment that the Metelli had always had to the maxims of the Aristocracy, and to the authority of the Senate: He cited to him his own brother, Q. Metellus Celer, who died two years before, and who made a law with him to oppose Clodius in every thing: He put him in mind of Q. Metellus Numidicus, the honour of their family, banished like Cicero, and like him regretted by the whole city. In short, he spoke with so much force, that the Consul could not refrain from tears, no equivocal proof of a sincere reconciliation: And in fact, he no longer contented himself with not only not resisting his Colleague, but supported, and seconded him in every step he took.

The assembly was composed of four hundred and seventeen Senators. Among so great a number of voters, Clodius found his voice alone the only one against Cicero. It was therefore resolved that Cicero should be recalled, and that, to this end, the Consuls and other Magistrates, by the authority of the Senate, should immediately make the proposition to the People assembled by Centuries.

The next day the Consul Lentulus laid before the People what had passed in the Senate; and Pompey joining with him, made a speech, wherein he expressed himself in a manner highly honouring Cicero, and in terms which shewed the most lively and tender friendship. He treated him as the "Saviour of the State," and said, as the public safety operated by him, it could not

CORNELIUS, CÆCIUS, Consuls.

A. R. 695. not subsist but with him. He did not only employ
 Ant. C.hortations and counsels, but added prayers and sup-
 57. plications, as interesting for Cicero, as if they had
 been for a brother or a father.

The Senate made haste to come to a conclusion, and for that purpose made a preparatory decree, containing several articles, all more favourable one than the other to a cause, which became manifestly the cause of the Commonwealth. He forbade all persons whatsoever to bring any obstacles to the re-establishment of Cicero, declaring, that whoever did anything to prevent it, would offend the Senate, and must be looked upon as an enemy to the Republic, to the safety of good men, and the union of the citizens. He even ordered, that if the cavilling of ill-disposed persons should too much retard the decision, Cicero might return without needing any other formality. He ordered thanks to be given to those who came from the several towns in Italy to Rome, inviting them farther to carry the same zeal to the solemn assembly of the People, where the affair was to be finally determined.

At length the great day arrived, which was the object of so much desire, and many negotiations for more than a year. The Protectors of the cause of Cicero had judged, with great reason, that the highest degree of authority ought to be given to the law by which he was to be recalled, in order to take away from his enemies for ever the pretence of doing anything against it. Thus, whereas he had been banished only by a Tribunitian law, carried in that sort of assembly called Comitia by Tribes, which comprehended only the Plebeians, and where a Tribune presided, this was an assembly by Centuries, that was appointed to order his re-establishment; a kind of assembly the more august, and which fully represented every order in the Nation. Both Consuls, seven Praetors, and eight Tribunes of the People, proposed and supported the law. Lentulus and Pompey made speeches filled with the just praises of Cicero, with

hortations to the People, and prayers. All the A. R. 695
distinguished members of the Senate, the antient Ant. C.
Consuls, and antient Praetors, appeared upon the 37.
tribunal of Harangues, and spoke the same lan-
guage. Clodius alone raised his voice against the
animous vows of all orders and all the citizens, and
is not heard but with an indignation that could not
be very pleasing to him.

The assembly was the most numerous that ever had
been seen. All the People, all Italy was present in

No one thought he could be dispensed with,
though age or infirmities, in not coming to testify
his zeal for his country, by voting for the return of
Lentulus, who had been the preserver of it. There was
variety in the suffrages; all with one common voice
authorized the law, and Cicero * had reason to say, in
telling the circumstances of this day, so glorious
to him, that Lentulus had not simply brought him
back to his country, but had made him re-enter in
triumph, and in a triumphal car. The law was brought

and received on the 4th of August. Thus the
continuance of Cicero's exile, who went out of Rome Cic. ad
the beginning of April the year before, was six Att. IV. 1.
ten months.

He had already some time approached nearer to Cic. ad
Thessaly; from the end of the preceding year Theffa- Att. III.
nica had ceased to appear a safe asylum to him. & IV.
His town depended on the government of Macedo-
nia, of which Piso his enemy was immediately to
take possession; and the report of the near arrival of
the troops that this new Governor had sent before
him, determined Cicero to seek elsewhere a retreat.
Atticus, who was then at his estate in Epirus, in-
vited him to come and join him. Cicero preferred
Corcyra, where he should be nearer to hear news
from Rome, and of which place the inhabitants had

* Itaque P. Lentuli beneficio excellenti atque divino, non reducti
mus in patriam, sicut nonnulli clarissimi cives, sed equis insignibus
curru aurato reportati. Post red. in Sen. n. 28.

A. R. 695. already shewn him much affection. He arrived
 Ant. C. 57. on the 25th of November, and passed above
 months there, that is to say, till the 4th of Aug
 following, which was the same day that the law
 his being recalled was authorized by the suffrages
 all the People. That day he embarked at Dy
 chium, and landed the next at Brundusium, wh
 he found his dear daughter Tullia. Three days af
 he received, by a letter from his brother, the ne
 of the law that re-established him, and this was
 occasion of an universal joy to the whole city
 Brundusium.

Post red.
in Sen.
n. 39.

His return to Rome was triumphant, and Plutarch observes, that Cicero has not exaggerated, in saying that all Italy had in some sort brought him back again into the bosom of his country upon their shoulders. But the better to conceive the glory of this return, let us see the circumstantial description which the Orator himself gives of it. I am going to relate it in his own words. " All * the road, says he, from Brundusium to Rome, was bordered by a continual croud of the several people of Italy, for there was not any canton, nor any town in it that did not send deputations to congratulate me. What shall I say of the manner in which I was received in each place? how, both from the towns and the country, the fathers of families with their wives and their children either went out before me or came to me in my way to testify their joy; how many holidays were cel-

* Mens redditus is fuit, ut à Brundusio usque Romam agmen per totum totius Italiae viderem. Neque enim regio fuit ulla, neque niciplum, neque præfectura, aut colonia, ex quâ non publicè ad venerint gratulatum. Quid dicam adventus meos? quid effusio hominum ex oppidis? quid concursum ex agris patrum familias cum conjugibus ac liberis? quid eos dies, qui quasi deorum immortalium festi & solennes, sunt adventu meo redditique celebrati? Unus ille dixi mihi quidem immortalitatis instar fuit, quum senatum egressum per populumque Romanum universum; quum mihi ipsa Roma propè convulsa sedibus suis, ad complectendum conservatorem suum procederet visa est: quæ me ita accepit, ut non modò omnium generum, ietatur ordinum, omnes viri ac mulieres, omnis fortunæ ac loci, sed etiam mœnia ipsa viderentur, ac tecta urbis, & templa lœtari. In Pif. 52.

brato

rated on my account, with as much chearfulness and comp, as those which are consecrated to the honour of the immortal Gods? But the day especially in which I re-entered Rome, that day alone is worth an immortality to me. I saw the Senate and the whole people come out of the gates to receive me, and Rome herself almost shaking on her foundations, seemed to advance to embrace her preserver. It might be said, that not only the men and women of all ages, all orders, and all conditions; but the very walls, the houses and the temples, conceived transports of joy on seeing me."

Among this innumerable croud of great and small, there were only to be excepted the declared enemies of Cicero; I say declared, for Crassus, notwithstanding their former bickerings, mixt himself with the rest, engaged to take this step by his son, of whom I have spoke elsewhere.

When Cicero arrived at the Porta Capena, the stairs of the neighbouring temples were filled with an infinite number of People, who, as soon as they perceived him, clapped their hands, and made the place ring with their cries of joy and felicitation. All this multitude accompanied him as far as the Capitol; where he went in the first place to pay those duties which religion prescribed to him. After which he was conducted back, in the same manner, to the house where he was to lodge. The next day, which was the 5th of September, he returned his thanks to the Senate, in a speech which we have, and in which he did not content himself with paying his compliments to the Assembly in general, but named one after another all the Magistrates his benefactors, and among the private men Pompey alone. He thus fulfilled the laws of gratitude, which was one of his favorite virtues, observing in this the most agreeable order, beginning with the Deity, and afterwards acquitting himself towards man.

Such was the return of Cicero, the splendor of which was so great, that it gave him reason to say,

A. R. 695. * that had he considered only his glory, he ought
 Ant. C. 57. to have resisted the violences of Clodius, but to have
 fought and purchased them.

There was one thing yet wanting to make his establishment compleat: that was to re-enter into the possession of his house, and to see it rebuilt. It must be remembered here what I have said of the ingenuous malice of Clodius, who was willing both to disgrace Cicero by confounding the site of his house with that of M. Fulvius, an enemy of the publick, and by taking from him all hopes of ever recovering it, by consecrating it to religion in a pretended dedication to the Goddess of Liberty. It is easy to guess what were the sentiments of Cicero on the account. " If + only they do not restore me my house, says he in pleading that he made to reclaim it, but that should be found to be changed, at the very instant that my enemy gloried in my affliction, in his own crimes and in the publick calamity; in such case, we can doubt but my return would be an eternal punishment to me? My house is in the most frequent quarter of Rome, exposed to the view of all the citizens. If they will preserve that wretched building there, which bears the inscription of the name of my enemy, and which cannot be looked upon as an ornament to the city, but as its sepulchre; I must retire to any other part of the world, rather than inhabit a place, where I shall have before my eyes the trophy of a victory gained over the Commonwealth and myself."

De Har.
Resp.
n. 11.

The dedication only made all the difficulty. In the law which ordered the recall of Cicero, re-

* Ut tua mihi conscelerata illa vis non modò non pulsanda, etiam emenda fuisse videatur. Pro Domo, n. 75.

+ Sin mea domus non modò mihi non redditur, sed etiam monumentum præbet inimico doloris mei, sceleris sui, publice calamitatis erit, qui hunc redditum potius, quam pœnam sempiternam feret? In conspectu præterea totius est urbis domus mea, Pontifices quâ si manet illud non monumentum urbis, sed sepulchrum, in nomine inscriptum; demigrandum potius aliquò est, quam habendum in eâ urbe, in quâ trophya & de me, & de Republicâ videantur constituta. Pro Domo, 100.

A. R. 695.
Ant. C.
57.

lashed him in the enjoyment of all his rights, and all his goods : but that which had been once consecrated to the Gods could never more be taken away for profane uses ; therefore before he could be allowed to re-enter his house, it was necessary, that the Pontiffs should determine whether the consecration that had been made was valid or not.

This question was pleaded before the College of Pontiffs between Cicero and Clodius, on the last day of September. Our Orator displayed all the force of his eloquence, on a subject which interested him nearly ; and had reason to be satisfied with the success of it. The Pontiffs declared, that if the person who pretended to make the dedication, had not been nominally charged with this commission by the People, Cicero might be restored to the soil that belonged to him. All the world looked upon this judgment as giving the cause to Cicero ; for nothing was more certain than that the dedication was made without any order from the People. Nevertheless Clodius, always impudent to the last degree, caused himself to be presented to the People on the spot, by his brother Apicius, who was Prætor, and gave out in a wild harangue, that the Pontiffs had determined in his favour, and that Cicero would repossess himself of his house by force.

He imposed upon no body ; but the Senate being assembled the next day, the first of October, took from him all pretence to his ridiculous triumph. All the Pontiffs who were Senators, were present, and Cn. Lentulus Marcellinus, Consul elect, and the first who delivered his opinion, asked them before all the motives of their judgment. M. Lucullus answered in the name and by the consent of all his Colleagues, that it was for the Pontiffs to decide as to what regarded religion, and for the Senate with respect to the law they had made for destroying the house in dispute. That as Pontiffs they had pronounced themselves on the rights of religion, and as Senators they were going to do it upon the law. Himself, his Col-

A. R. 695. legues, and all the other Senators declared themselves
 Ant. C. in favour of the cause of Cicero. Clodius, who saw
 57. what turn the affair was likely to take, was willing
 to prevent the conclusion of it by speaking all the
 rest of the day. But at length the indignation of the
 Assembly, and the noise that was raised, obliged
 him to hold his tongue. The Tribune Atilius Gavius
 came to the support of Clodius, and opposed
 the decree, which of consequence could not be made
 that day. But the uneasiness of men's minds was
 great, that Atilius dared not persist the next day. The
 Cic. in

Pis. n. 52. Senatusconsultum was prepared, and it was said that
 the houses of Cicero in town and country should be
 rebuilt at the expence of the Commonwealth; an honour
 that had never been done to any other citizen. It was also ordered that the Portico of Catulus should
 be restored according to the former plan, and such
 as it was before Clodius had united a part of Cicero's house to it; insomuch that the name and the
 work of that madman might entirely disappear.

When Cicero says that his houses were rebuilt at the expence of the public; this requires some explanation, and means only that there was money assigned to him out of the Treasury for that purpose. And that they might proceed therein with justice, an estimate was made of his houses: and that in Rome was valued at two millions of festerces, that is to say, about twelve thousand five hundred pounds sterling. Cicero seems to be satisfied on this article: but he complains to Atticus, that those at Tusculum and Formia were soldly rated, and much beneath their real value, that is to say, the first at five hundred thousand festerces; the other at two hundred and fifty thousand: which he attributes to the intrigues of those who envied him. "Those who before had clipt my wings, were sorry," says he agreeably, to see my feathers grow again; but for all that, I flattered myself they will not grow the less."

3175 l.
sterling.

1562 l.
30 s. sterl.

* Idem illi qui mihi pennas incident, nolunt easdem renasci: sed ut spero, jam renascuntur. Cic. ad Att. iv. 2.

It is true that gratitude, the engagements he had entered into, and lastly, interest and policy, had so strictly united Cicero to Pompey, that it is not very surprizing that the rigid republicans should be disaffected and alarmed. All this happening, it had awakened their disquietudes. Bread was very dear in Rome, and they were afraid of a famine there. This was the occasion of the multitude's mutinying so far as to attack, and being ready to force the house of the Praetor L. Cecilius, who gave the Apollinarian games. This movement and several others like it, were originally owing to the discontents of the people themselves; but Clodius had greatly added his own to them; and always ready to excite seditions, he scarce ever failed to increase the fire when he once found it lighted up. At his instigation the populace laid hold on Cicero; and, as soon as he entered Rome, troops of the seditious demanded bread of him, as if it depended upon him to give it them. The good citizens thought also it would be proper for him to concern himself in the affair, in order to take away the superintendance of provisions from such a wretch as Sex. Clodius, to whom Clodius had given it in his Tribuneship, and to transfer it to Pompey, who, for a long time, had been the resource of the Commonwealth in all cases of difficulty and importance.

The Senate assembled in the Capitol to deliberate on means to remedy this evil. The tumult was so great, and the populace so furious, that the greatest part of the Consulars dared not come to the Senate. There were but three found there, Cicero, Messala, and Afranius. Cicero proposed to engage Pompey to take upon himself the superintendance of provisions, and that the Senatusconsultum they should make thereon should be supported by an ordinance of the people. This advice being followed, Cicero gave an account of it to the People immediately. The next day the Senate being assembled in a great number, no one of the Consulars was missing; and they all agreed

A.R. 695. to allow to Pompey whatever he ought to demand
 Ant. C. 57. He would have fifteen Lieutenant-Generals, at the
 head of whom he placed Cicero, as he was becoming
 in every thing another self with him. These were his
 terms.

He thought of nothing more but the law that he
 was to propose to the People. Here we shall see the
 artful ambition of Pompey. The Consuls prepared
 the scheme of a law, which gave him the general and
 supreme superintendance of provisions throughout the
 whole extent of the Empire for five years. This was
 enough. But a Tribune of the People, named Messius,
 presented another scheme, which added to the power
 of the Consuls the free and absolute disposition of the
 finances and public treasure; a fleet and an army;
 and, in some of the Provinces where Pompey was to
 go, an authority superior to that of the Proprætors
 or Proconsuls who governed them. "Our Consular
 law, says Cicero, seemed but modest, that of Me-
 sius was insupportable; Pompey said that he desired
 ours, and his friends supported that of the Tribune." Cicero does not tell us which of the two laws passed; but Dio, in comparing the command that was given to Pompey on this occasion with that with which he was invested in the Pirates war, gives us reason to believe, that it was that of Messius, which was carried, agreeable to the secret wishes of Pompey. His power * after his return from the war with Mithridates diminished, and began to languish through inaction. He found it was now in his power to resume his former vigour by the means of this new command, which submitted to his authority the ports, the markets, the sale of grain, and, in a word, every thing that depended on navigation and labour.

Cic. pro Domo, 27, 30. As Cicero was the first promoter of this affair, excited against him the complaints and murmurings of a part of the zealous defenders of liberty. "To

* "Οτιπις οντερηνιας αυτη μαρτυρικη το φραγιν αποτελεσθεισιν εγενεται αναλαζετο. PLUT. Pomp.

whom would Cicero do this? said they. Is he ignorant of the credit and esteem he enjoys; what services he has done his country; with what splendor and glory he was re-established? Why must he do such honour to the man by whom he was abandoned?" Cicero answered these reproaches with freedom, not disagreeing with them in the wrongs that Pompey had done him, but still protesting that he would never quit his alliance with him. "Let them cease, said he, to endeavour to weaken my condition after my re-establishment by the same methods which they took to overthrow me. They have sown the seeds of division between Pompey and me, which they shall never do again. I know that I have been not only abandoned, but given up. I am not ignorant of any thing that was done to destroy me; I say no more of it: but it would be ingratitude not to say, that I think myself indebted in a great measure to Pompey for my return; and that if the chiefs of the Senate equalled him in their zeal, he distinguished himself among them all by his power, by his efforts, by his prayers, and lastly, by the dangers he exposed himself to in my cause."

As to the rest, there was no reason to be dissatisfied with the superintendance of provisions being intrusted to Pompey. He acquitted himself in this employment, as in all others, to the satisfaction and advantage of the Commonwealth. There had really been a great dearth in some of the Provinces from whence Rome drew her subsistence; in others the scarcity was owing to a bad administration; corn had been sent to other places in hopes of a better sale; or locked up on the first apprehension of its growing dear. Pompey sent his Lieutenants and his friends to all parts; and took upon himself the care of visiting the three granaries of Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and the coast of Africa. He gathered together there a great quantity of provisions; and shewed so much ardour and activity to bring succour to Rome, that when he was ready to return thither with his soldiers, the wind being

Cic. pro
Domo, n.

11.

Plut.
Pomp.

A.R. 695. Ant. C. 57. ing very high and threatening a storm, insomuch that the Pilots made a difficulty to put off; he embarked the first, and ordered them to weigh anchor, saying, “There is a necessity for us to put to sea, but it is not necessary to live.” His courage succeeded, he made a happy voyage, and by the good orders he knew how to give, the markets were stocked with corn, and the sea covered with vessels. The plenty was such, that like a fruitful source, says Plutarch, there was not only a sufficient supply for the city, but it spread itself to all the neighbouring countries about.

It was not so easy to re-establish quiet in Rome, as it was to bring back plenty. The same confusion, and the same troubles continued to reign there, and Clodius was always the author of them. I have said,

Cic. ad Att. IV. 3. that he was accused by Milo of violences, and attempts against the public tranquillity. The ordinances of the Magistrates who favoured him, had only suspended, but not quashed, the proceedings. Milo would not give up the point: and Clodius had no way to escape but by getting himself chosen Aedile. The Aedileship once gained would serve him for a safeguard. For the same reason, Milo omitted nothing to prevent his being named to it: and as often as the Consul Metellus went about to hold the Assembly for proceeding to the election of Aediles, Milo stopped him, by giving notice of some bad omen, which broke up the Assembly for that day. Clodius, drove to extremes, became more and more furious, and sometimes was angry with Milo himself, and sometimes with Cicero.

On the 3d of November, a body of armed men, sent by him, drove away the artificers who were at work on the foundation of Cicero's house; they afterwards overthrew the Portico of Catulus, which the Consuls, authorized by a decree of the Senate, had ordered to be restored: Lastly, they attacked the house of Cicero's brother, and after they had broke the doors and windows with stones, they set fire

it, by order of Clodius, in view of the whole
city.

On the 11th of November, was a new scene of Clodius's fury against the person of Cicero himself. When this last was coming down the street, called the Sacra Via, he found himself assaulted, on a sudden, by the party of his enemy. Dreadful cries and threatenings, a shower of stones, sticks and swords, all proclaimed his extreme danger. Cicero retired into the porch of a neighbouring house, and, as he was well accompanied, his people supported the siege with such an advantage, that it was in his power to have slain Clodius. But * says he, " Chirurgical operations no longer pleased me; a regimen and soft remedies, were all I wanted." He was so much averse from shedding the blood of illustrious citizens, although it was of knaves, that he would not try the same fortune.

Clodius was not weary. The next day, the 12th of November, he came in broad day-light, an hour before noon, to attack one of the houses, of Milo with men armed with swords and bucklers. Others carried lighted torches to set fire to it. He took for his camp a house in the neighbourhood, which belonged to P. Sylla, defended some years before by Cicero. He was repulsed: several of his attendants were killed on the spot: but for himself, he took care of his own safety.

Was Rome in this condition a city, or a field of battle? The brutal lives of the first men, such as the Poets describe them, before the establishment of laws and societies, was there ever any thing in them more savage? As I have already observed, a liberty, which produced such excesses, must soon come to an end, and give way to monarchical power.

The authority of the Senate could do nothing against such horrible disorders. They were often

* Sed ego diæta curari incipio; chirurgiæ jam tædet. Cic. ad Att. iv. 3.

A. R. 69. mentioned in the meetings of that august Assembly
Ant. C. and Marcellinus, the Consul elect, always spoke
Cic. ibid. ^{57.} thereon with vigour. He would have it, that the
& ad Q. new violences committed by Clodius were comprised
Fr. II. 1. in the accusation intended against him; and the
 Judges should be named to decide that affair, before they proceeded to the election of Aediles. All the fruits of the efforts both of the Senate and of Milo was to keep off the nomination of Clodius for a while, but at length he carried it, and being chose Aedile found himself in a condition to insult his accuser.

Dio, L. It was about this time, that the famous Lucullus died, in a manner deplorable in so great a man, if it was not proper that we should know, that neither great talents nor great exploits can put us out of the reach of human miseries. He fell mad, either through fickness, or the effect of some liquor given him by one of his freedmen. His brother, M. Lucullus, became his guardian, and took upon him the administration of his estate and person. M. Lucullus did not live long in this sorrowful condition, which had not fully shewn itself till after the exile of Cicero. His death touched the People, and his funeral was celebrated with a great concourse, and with great testimonies of esteem; insomuch that the multitude would have him interred, as Sylla had been, in the Campus Martius. His brother had much difficulty to obtain leave to transport him to the place destined for his sepulture, in the territory of Tusculum. M. Lucullus did not long survive him, but closely followed a brother whom he had always tenderly loved.

I cannot finish the account of the events of this year, without speaking of Callidius, who was then Praetor, and who, after he had concurred with his Collegues in the re-establishment of Cicero, even pleaded with him before the Pontiffs, to obtain the restoration of his house. Callidius was an Orator, and M. Rollin, in his "Treatise on Studies," has related what picture Cicero drew of his eloquence. But to avoid repetitions, I shall quote only one passage,

but

that says all. « It is the perfection of the art of speaking well, consists, says Cicero, in a sweet and charming stile, nothing can be desired more excellent than that of Callidius. » But force was entirely wanting to him : and Cicero took an occasion, when he pleaded against him, very artfully to give a proof, in cause, of this defect of fire and vivacity in his adversary. Callidius accused a certain man, named Q. Gallus, of a design of poisoning him, and had entered into a long detail of the proofs he pretended to have of this fact. He treated all, after his manner, with order, with eloquence, and in a florid stile, but without motion or sentiment. Cicero, in answering him, employed at first the means the cause furnished him with, after which he added : « How + Callidius, if what you now relate to us was not a romance of your own composing, could you deliver it in so unaffected manner ? You are a great orator, and know how to be warm when you speak of the dangers of others : How then can you be so indifferent in your own ? Where are the vehement complaints ? Where is that force of sentiment, which makes even the meanest people eloquent ? Neither your mind, nor your body, seem to be moved ; there is not to be seen in you any sign of indignation, or any gesture of grief : You are cold and languid ; so that, far from being inflamed by your discourse, we have much ado to forbear falling asleep. »

Such an Orator failed in the most essential part of his art, and very probably wanted that activity that

* Quod si optimum est suaviter dicere, nihil est quod melius hoc querendum putes. Cic. Brutus, n. 276.

† Tu istuc M. Callidi, nisi fingeres, sic ageres ; præsertim quum ita eloquentia alienorum hominum pericula defendere acerrime soleas, tuum negligeres ? Ubi dolor, ubi ardor animi, qui etiam ex infantium ingeniosis elicere voces & querelas solet ? nulla perturbatio animi, nulla corporis : frons non percussa, non femur : pedis, quod minimum est, nulla supplosio. Itaque tantum absuit ut inflammares nostros animos, somnum isto loco vix tenebamus. Cic. Brutus, n. 278.

was

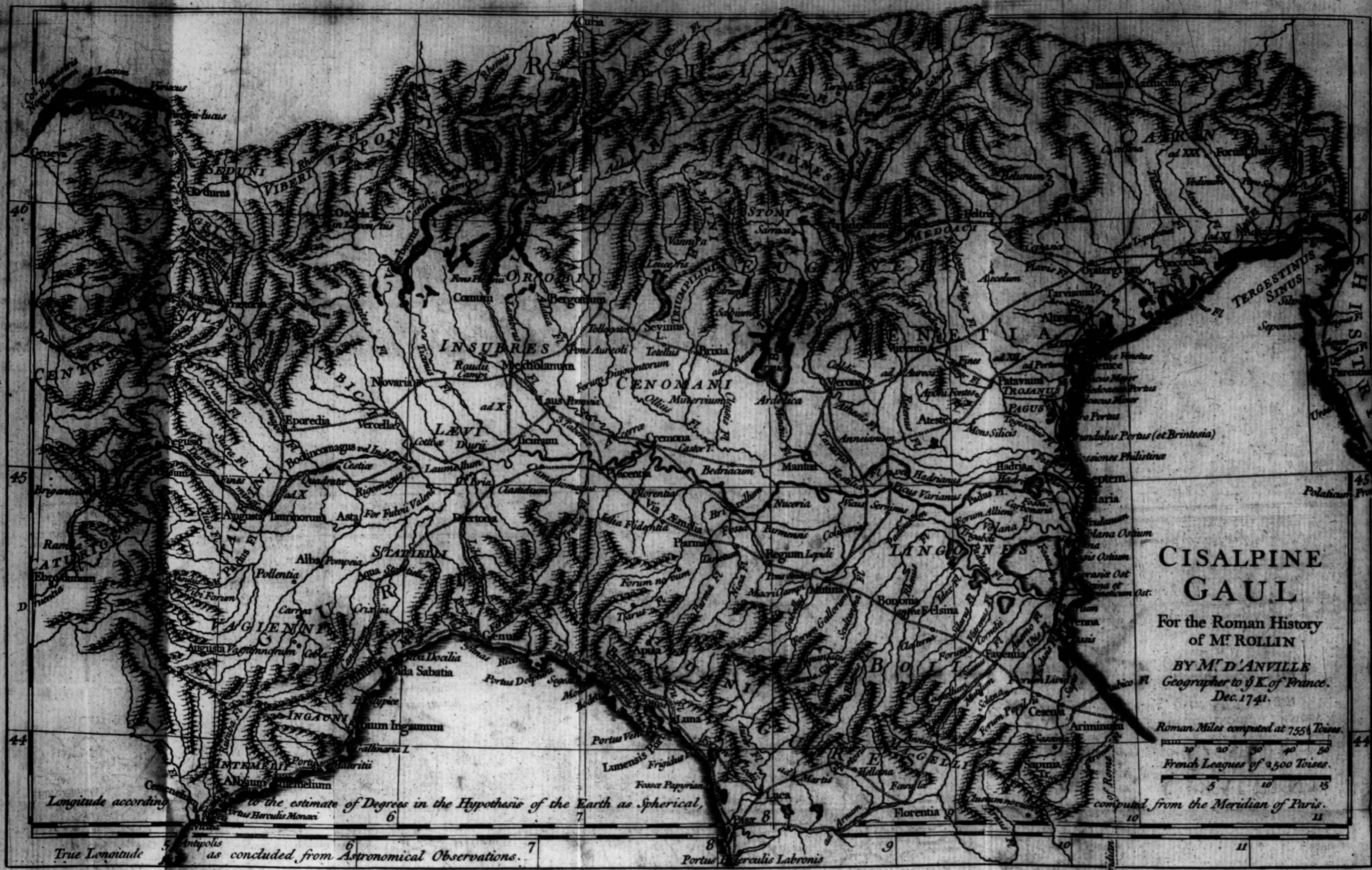
A. R. 695. was necessary to raise him in the Commonwealth
Ant. C. stopt at the Praetorship, and could never arrive
57. ing Consul.

During this year and the preceding, Cæsar has
great things in Gaul. I have not hitherto entered
a particular recital of them, that I might not interrupt
the train of facts, and especially those relating to
exile and recalling of Cicero. But I am going
to take up what I had left in arrear.

to one instance of it, if I can
find a very rare instance.

2011-2012
2012-2013
2013-2014
2014-2015
2015-2016
2016-2017
2017-2018
2018-2019
2019-2020
2020-2021
2021-2022

7



CISALPINE GAUL

For the Roman History
of M^r ROLLIN.

*BY M^r. D'ANVILLE
Geographer to y^e K^r. of France.
Dec. 1741.*

Roman Miles converted at 2550 Toises

French Leagues of 3500 Toises.

Friends of the Poor.

3 10 3

from the Meridian of Paris.

22

II

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R.W. Scale

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THE

ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK THE FORTIETH.

A SHORT description of Gaul, and manners of the Gauls. The two first campaigns of Cæsar in Gaul. The affair of the re-establishment of Ptolemy Auletes. A renewing of the confederation between Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus. The second Consulship of Pompey and Crassus. Years of Rome 694 to 698.

SECT. I.

A preliminary reflection. The boundaries and division of Gaul. The difference between the Aquitani, the Belgæ, and the Celtæ. The Gauls made use of the Greek tongue in their acts. A multiplicity of people in Gaul forming one national body. Two factions divide all Gaul. Particular factions among each People, and in each Canton. Two distinguished and illustrious orders among the Gauls, the Druids and the Nobles. The People accounted as nothing. The Druids were the Priests, the Philosophers, the Poets, and the Judges of the Nation. The education of the Druids. The chief of the Druids. The general assemblies in the country of Chartraine or Chartres. The Nobles all fought

A PRELIMINARY REFLECTION.

fought on horseback. Continually employed in war. The form of their government Aristocratical. Silence imposed on private persons concerning the affairs of State. The barbarous customs of the Gauls. An amiable character of the Genius of the Gauls. Their valour. They want perseverance. Their levity. Their bodily advantages. The taste of the Gauls for magnificence. Much gold in Gaul. The trade. The Religion of the Gauls. Human victims. Their principal Divinities. The Hercules of the Gauls. The Gauls pretend to be the issue of the God of the dead. They begin their natural day at the setting of the Sun. Their domestic usages. Sons did not appear before their fathers in public, till they were of age to bear arms. Their marriages. Their funerals. The manners of the Gauls like those of the ancient people of Latium, described by Virgil. The glory of the arms of the Gauls. Cæsar, hitherto a factious citizen, is beginning to be one of the greatest warriors. His glory effaces that of all the other Roman Generals. He makes himself adored by the soldiers, and animates them with his fire. Some wonderful passages on this subject. He knows how to reward with magnificence, and shew an example of the contempt of dangers and fatigues. The weakness of his constitution. His prodigious activity. The easiness and sweetness of his manners. Examples of them.

A PRELIMINARY REFLECTION.

Cic. L. II.
de Or. n.
75.

I Confess that I am dismayed by the subject I am going to treat of; and being to give an account of the wars of Cæsar in Gaul, I am sensible how much such an undertaking is above my reach. It brings to my mind the story of that Philosopher, who having dared to make a discourse on the art of war before Hannibal, was looked upon by that General as a dotard, who was worthy only of contempt. It is true, the case which I am in is very different from that, in

A PRELIMINARY REFLECTION.

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which this Philosopher had put himself. That was his own choice, and to set himself off before one of the greatest Captains that ever was in the world, he chose a subject he was not competent to : Whereas I find myself brought to a recital of the exploits of Cæsar, in the prosecution of my plan, and by the necessity of an engagement which hardly is free on my part. But I shall avoid speaking of my own head, and Cæsar himself shall be my guide, in all that I relate of his military conduct.

But to be able to follow such a guide, I know I ought to have lights, of which I am entirely destitute. As to his stile, he seems by the simplicity *, the easiness, and natural air of it, to render himself accessible to all his readers : But as to what regards the fundamental busines, I do not deny but I shall have a difficulty to well understand it : How then shall I be able to represent it as it ought to be ? Cæsar perhaps never had a worthy interpreter, if it was not that great Prince, his rival in the glory of arms, who took a pleasure in Catalonia to study all the steps of the Roman General, and to observe upon the spot, how, by the advantage of posts, he constrained five legions and two experienced chiefs to lay down their arms without fighting. The Prince, in giving an account of a conduct of which he comprehended all the skill, because he was capable of giving examples of it, ratiſhed all those who understood it : " And never, says Or. Fun. M. Bossuet, did so great a master explain Cæsar's ^{de Mr. le} Prince. Commentaries by so learned lessons."

All these reflections ought to make me renounce my design. Nevertheless, I hope that necessity may serve me for a justifiable excuse : And if any one of our warriors, who knows how to join the merit of letters to that of arms, shall interest himself enough in the success of my work, to make me acquainted with the faults I may commit, in speaking of a science

* Nudi sunt (Commentarii Cæsaris) recti, simplices, omni ornatuationis, tanquam ueste, detracto. Cic. Brutus, n. 262.

A PRELIMINARY REFLECTION.

I do not understand, I shall very readily make the best use I am able, of the advice he is pleased to give me.

Cæsar's wars in the Gauls particularly concerns us Frenchmen, who inhabit the country that was the theatre of them. And here the vanquished touch us more nearly than the conquerors. I therefore believe that after I have shewn the more general boundaries and division of antient Gaul, I shall not displease my readers, by giving them an account of the manners of the Gauls. I shall not, for that purpose, go into learned enquiries that are above my capacity, and do not agree with the intent of this History. Cæsar and Strabo will be the principal sources that I shall draw any aid from.

*Cæs. de
B. Gall. I.
& VI.
Strabo,
L. IV.*

The boundaries of Gaul were antiently more extended than those of France are at present. They took in all that is to be found between the Channel on the North, the Great Sea on the West, the Pyrenean mountains, and the gulph of Lyons on the South, and on the East, drawing towards the North first the Alps, and then the Rhine to its mouth.

All this vast country seems to have been formerly divided into three very unequal parts: Aquitania between the Garonne and the Pyrenees; Belgia to the opposite extremity, between the Marne and the Seine on one part, and the Rhine on the other; and the large tract which remained in the middle, and which extended from the Channel and the western Ocean to the Mediterranean and the Alps, was what was called Celtica or Gaul, properly so named. For the inhabitants of this part, which alone was larger than the other two together, had no other name than the common name of the Nation, *Celtæ* or *Gauls*. The name was so properly their own, that Cæsar never or very rarely, gives it to the Aquitani or the Belgæ.

The Romans, a long time before Cæsar, had detached from Celtica, and having subdued, as I have related, all the southern part along the sea, from the Alps to the Pyrenees, made a Roman province,

conquered country of it, which comprehended very near all that at present we call Provence and Languedoc.

Thus from the time of Cæsar Gaul had four parts, that is to say, the Roman Province, Celtica, Aquitain, and Belgia.

In the description that we are going to give of the manners of the Gauls, we shall not consider the Roman Province, who had already accommodated themselves to the customs and manner of living of their Conquerors.

THE MANNERS OF THE GAULS.

Among the three other parts there were remarkable differences. The Aquitani, the neighbours of the Spaniards, resembled them, both in their outward appearance, and in their characters. The Belgæ, who bordered on the Germans, and who were always at war with them, imitated their ferocity. They were the most brave of all the Gauls, and knew neither pleasures nor voluptuousness, from the contagion of which their distance from the Roman Province had secured them. The Celtæ, having the Romans near them, and moreover being richer than the other, and carrying on a greater trade, began to be softened, and to lose at least part of the antient fierceness of the Gauls. Cæsar, to these differences, adds that of languages: but those among the moderns, who have searched deepest into that business, pretend, on the contrary, that there was but one common language, not only among all the inhabitants of Gaul, but among all the people of original Celtica; which, besides the Gauls, comprehended the Germans, the Illyrians, the Spaniards, and they do not admit among the languages of all these people but the diversity of dialects. I do not enter into this dispute.

But one singularity, which I think I ought not to Cæs. de
omit taking notice of, is that the Gauls, in the time B. G. VI.
of ^{14. & I.} _{29.}

THE MANNERS OF THE GAULS.

of Cæsar, made use of Greek letters in their public and private acts: and he reports, that having taken the camp of the Helvetii, he found in it a register wrote in Greek letters, which contained a list of all those who had gone out of their country to seek an establishment elsewhere, men, women, and children. I make use of the expression Greek letters, because it is that of Cæsar, and which has given room for a double interpretation.

Some think that it relates only to the characters and that these acts were wrote in the Gaulish or Celtic language, but with Greek letters. They support this opinion, by shewing, that it appears as if the Greek tongue was not known among the Gauls. First, because Divitiacus, a celebrated Druid, does not converse with Cæsar, but by the help of an interpreter; whereas Cæsar understood and spoke the Greek perfectly well. In the second place, Q. Cicero being straitly pressed by the Nervii *, Cæsar, who was desirous to give him an immediate succour, wrote to him in Greek, that his letter should be intercepted it might not be understood; a manifest proof that the Gauls did not understand the Greek.

But, on the other hand, it must be confessed, that Cæsar's expression was very ambiguous, and very deceitful, if he would speak of Celtic words wrote in Greek characters: And Strabo, after saying that Marseilles was a school, where the Gauls sent the children, adds, that in consequence of this the Gauls were polished, and became admirers of the Greeks and † that they prepared their acts in Greek: an expression beyond all ambiguity.

It seems therefore indubitable, that the use of the Greek language, introduced by the Marseillois, was received in Gaul, but only in their acts, in their ordinary commerce they made use of the language of the country. This being so, it is not at all surprizing

* People who inhabited Cambresis, Hainault, and part of Flanders.
† οἵ τε καὶ τὰ συμβόλαια Ελληνιστὶ γράφειν.

that a Druid should not be able to maintain a conversation in Greek. And as to the letter wrote by Cæsar to Q. Cicero, it was in the northern extremity of Gaul that the thing happened: therefore it is very probable, since Marseilles first taught the Greek language to the Gauls, that that knowledge extended itself only to the neighbouring countries, or at most to those not far distant, and that it had not penetrated into the North of Gaul, the inhabitants of which preserved to that time all their ferocity.

Each of the three great parts of Gaul comprehended several people, who had their Magistrates, their Senates, and their Chiefs. But all these people, nevertheless, formed together a national body; they had general assemblies, and united themselves in their common affairs.

In so vast a body composed of so many parts, it is not to be wondered that factions should arise. There were two subsisting in general, which divided the whole Nation. At the head of one were the Edueni, antient allies of the Romans: The other had for their chiefs, sometimes the Arverni, sometimes the Sequani, and lastly, from the entrance of Cæsar into Gaul, the Rhemi. For Cæsar took a good deal of care not to extinguish these factions, which prevented the Gauls from easily uniting their forces; and after he had destroyed the power of the Sequani, he favoured the growth of that of the Rhemi, who substituted themselves in their place, shewing himself altogether as well satisfied with those who ranged themselves on the side of these new chiefs, as with those who continued attached to the Edueni.

The same spirit of faction, which divided Gaul in general, divided also each people, each canton, and almost each family. He had parties there throughout the whole, and chiefs of parties, who were always chosen from among the most powerful and the most esteemed, to be supreme arbiters of affairs, and protectors of the weak. For Cæsar thought that this practice was not introduced of itself, but had been

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established with design, that those who were not in a condition to defend themselves from oppression by their own strength, might never want assistance and support. These Chiefs always took in hand the causes of their Clients ; and if they failed therein, they were disgraced, and lost all their authority.

The common people of Gaul were almost all in bondage ; they were looked upon as nothing, and never admitted into any public deliberations. Often-times those among them, who found themselves reduced to poverty, made themselves slaves to some great man, who thus became their master, and treated them accordingly. All distinctions, all honours, all power, were included in the two orders of Druids and Cavaliers, who, for the greater clearness, I shall call Nobles. Thus the antient state of Gaul much resembled the present state of Poland, where the Peasants are slaves, the middling People very little considered, and where the Churchmen and the Nobles enjoy alone, to speak properly, the privileges of citizens, and compose the Commonwealth.

Religion was the province of the Druids, and all those offices which required knowledge. They were the Priests, the Philosophers, the Poets, and the Judges of the Nation. Strabo distinguished them thus : the Bards who were the Poets ; the * Eubages, Sacrificers ; and the Druids, moral Philosophers. But these three orders seem to make one body together, and were all included in the common denomination of Druids.

Their Ministry was employed in all sacrifices public and private. Divination, which they carried, if we may believe Pliny, even to magic ; all that belonged to the worship of the Gods ; all the confused remains of natural religion, or what error abusing the name of religion has made regarded as sacred, were under their jurisdiction.

* The text of Strabo has it *Ovad-ris*. It is very probable that the author had wrote *Ovad-rus*. The name of Eubages is found in Ammianus Marcellinus, L. XV.

Their

Their verses were either moral or theological poesy, which contained instructions for their pupils; or Panegyrics upon the antient heroes of the Nation; or lastly, as poetry was always a busines of adulation, the bards sung the glories of the Kings or great men who took them into their retinue. Of this we have seen an example in the embassy sent by Bituitus King of the Arverni to the Consul Domitius.

Their philosophy was not confined to morality only, but raised itself to the study of nature. Cæsar, without entering into any detail of it, tells us, that they discoursed much of the stars, and their motions; of the largeness of the earth, and even of the whole world; of the nature and power of the Gods. But none of their philosophical opinions is better known to us than that of the immortality of the soul, of which they believed a successive transmigration in different bodies, pretty near the same as taught by Pythagoras. They spread this doctrine among the people, as a powerful incentive to animate their virtue, and inspire them with a contempt of death.

Lastly, it was in the Druids that the power of the Judicature resided. They judged of all public and private quarrels: they oftentimes decided on war and peace between the cities. Criminal affairs, especially that of murder, processes on account of succession, for the limits of an inheritance, or the territories of a people, were brought before their tribunal. And they armed the authority of their judgments with that of religion, of which they were the Ministers; so that if any private person, or even a whole people refused to submit to it, they pronounced against the refractory a kind of sentence of excommunication, which made those upon whom it was passed, to be looked upon as profane persons, with whom no one would have any commerce, and who were deprived of all the rights of society.

It may be easily conceived, by what we have been saying, that the Druids were extremely considerable. To which, if it be added, that they were exempt

from going to war, or paying tributes, it will not be surprising that men pressed to enter into their body: But to be admitted, they must have been brought up to it, by them, from their youth. Their manner of instructing was to make their disciples learn a prodigious number of verses, and they sometimes spent twenty years in this exercise: For they wrote nothing, without doubt, in consequence of a principle common to all false religions, and to all philosophical sects, to hold the mysteries of their doctrine in secrecy, and to make themselves admired by the vulgar, by keeping them in ignorance.

The Druids had a chief chosen among themselves, and by themselves, who could not fail of being a person of great importance: Therefore when this place became vacant, it so strongly inflamed the desires of the ambitious, that it was oftentimes the occasion of a war.

They held their general assemblies at a certain time of the year, in the country of Chartraine, which was looked upon as the middle or heart of Gaul. Thither all grand affairs were brought and judged.

With the Druids, another order, as we have said, divided all the power, and all honours of the Gaulic Nation. These were the Nobles, Cæsar calls them Cavaliers; without doubt because they all fought on horseback, as at this time the Polish Nobility do, and as formerly among us, those whom our ancestors called "men of arms." The Gaulic cavalry was excellent: The Romans drew great service from it, after the conquest of the country, and they never had any better in their armies. War was the proper function of these Nobles, and they had occasion to make it every year, because there were always quarrels between one people and another. They brought their Clients with them, and those who had the greatest number about them were the most respected.

The civil government was also in the hands of this Nobility, for the aristocratical form was that most used among the People of Gaul. They chose them-
selves

selves every year a supreme Magistrate for their affairs at home, and a General to conduct them to the war.

The wisest and best governed of these little Republics had a practice very well understood: That was, that silence was imposed on private persons with regard to the affairs of state. If any one had learned any news of his neighbours concerning the Commonwealth, he went to inform the Magistrates of it; but was forbid to acquaint any others with it. This practice was founded upon what they had observed, that oftentimes flying reports, and even those that were false, excited movements, and occasioned alarms, which were attended with very bad consequences. For this reason it was not permitted to any one to speak of public affairs, but in the Assemblies which were held to deliberate upon them.

All the Gaulic Nation were warriors, except the Druids. They employed themselves very little in cultivating the earth, although it was very fertile, living chiefly by hunting, and the flesh of their cattle. They strengthened their bodies by this hard sort of life, and by these violent exercises: and they took to it very early, if we may attribute to the whole nation what several authors * have reported of the Celtæ neighbours of the Rhine, that they went into the river to wash their children when just born, to harden them against cold in the first moments of life.

From thence that ferocity, with which they have been reproached by all the Greek and Roman authors; and although these writers do not at all times merit belief, yet here incontestable facts are witnesses for them. To fight naked to their waists, is a bravado that agrees only with barbarians. Nothing was more contrary and shocking to humanity, than their custom of carrying before the chests of their horses the heads of their enemies slain in battle, which they

* The testimonies of these Authors have been collected together by Lacorda, in his Commentaries on Virgil. AEn. IX. V. 603.

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afterwards fastened to the gates of their cities. They were not content with this; when it was some King, or illustrious Chief in the war, whom they had vanquished and slain, they took the skull, and washing it, tipped it with gold, and made use of it as a vessel, for their Priests to drink out of, or make their libations on solemn days.

The Romans and Greeks thought the custom was still more strange, for the Gauls to go armed to their Assemblies and common deliberations. Strabo relates a very singular method they had to keep silence. If any one improperly disturbed the person who spoke in the Assembly, an Apparitor went, with his sword drawn, to the troublesome man, and, with menaces, ordered him to hold his tongue. He repeated this prohibition twice or thrice, if there was need of it: but if the person on whom he would impose silence, continued obstinate, he cut away one half of his cassock with his sword, so that the rest became useless, and could make but a very ridiculous garb.

Ces. de B. It is impossible also not to condemn the barbarity G. V. 5⁶. of that custom they had, to put to death, with the most cruel torments, the person who came last to the general convocation of all the young men, who were summoned to take arms. I do not speak here of the sacrifices of human victims, because this kind of horror was common to all the Pagan Nations, even the best governed.

All these passages, and several others that might be easily added to them, prove, in my opinion, that it was not unjustly that the Gauls of those antient times have been treated as Barbarians. This does not hinder but that they had some amiable qualities. Freedom, candour, a hatred of all oblique and sinister arts, and an exalted courage, that made them desirous to conquer by force and not by craft. There wanted but a little cultivation to make them become comparable, by the softness of their manners, as they were in valour and military resolution, to other nations the most

most renowned, and whose glory was the most resplendent.

For as to their valour it was natural to them, and we may well suppose their manner of living was likely to nourish and inflame it. Thus the earth was filled with their exploits, and their armed Colonies made great settlements in Italy, Germany, upon the banks of the Danube, and even in Asia Minor.

However, it is difficult not to allow, that they wanted one essential quality for war; I mean perseverance in supporting fatigues. In hot countries * even their bodies, accustomed to moisture and cold, could not support themselves, and their courage felt the effects of this weakness. All the world knows the saying of Titus Livius, "that the Gauls in the beginning of an action were more than men, and at the end of it less than women." For this reason they were very unfit to undertake sieges: a laborious operation, which oftentimes required a length of time. No dangers affrighted them, but the labour disgusted them.

Another considerable obstacle to their success in war, was the facility with which they sometimes conceived rash and presumptuous hopes, at the first appearance of good fortune, and their suffering themselves to be immediately dejected as soon as they met with the least disappointment. This levity, which was common to all the barbarous nations, gave a great advantage to the People over them, who were better cultivated, and whom education, reflection, and the instructions of the wise, had taught to be more masters of themselves, and not to deliver themselves up entirely to the impressions of good fortune or a reverse of it.

All antiquity has boasted of the bodily advantages of the Gauls; their tall stature, their large brown locks, blue eyes, white skin, and withal something martial in their physiognomies. These marks of re-

* Gallorum—corpora intolerantissima laboris atque aestus fluere; primaque eorum prælia plusquam virorum, postrema minus quam seminuarum, esse. T. L. X. 28.

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semblance were seen in them all, because confined within themselves, they went not to seek marriages among other people : so that the national air preserved itself, having no mixture of foreign blood in it : and they improved their good mien by the magnificence of their dress. The rich and great men of the nation wore shining stuffs of the most lively colours, splendid with a profusion of gold. They had golden gorgets, and bracelets of the same metal. In general they set a great value on gold, and were very covetous of it. But it is well enough known, that this manner of thinking was not peculiar to them.

There must needs have been a vast quantity of this precious metal in the two Gauls. It may be remembered here what we have related concerning the riches of King Luerius ; and of those treasures sunk in many places, in the lakes and morasses. It is very certain that the spoil of Gaul brought prodigious sums to Cæsar. From whence all their gold came, is not easy to determine : but it is not to be doubted but a great trade was carried on in the two Gauls ; and Strabo observes, that the convenience of the two seas, and the navigable rivers, which fell one into the other, or were but at a small distance, made the transportation of merchandizes extremely easy.

As to what concerned religion, the Gauls were superlatively superstitious. Cæsar does not relate anything upon this subject very circumstantially, only that in their abominable sacrifices they caused men to be destroyed to appease, as they imagined, the wrath of their deities, whilst they really satisfied the implacable rage of Dæmons against mankind. These horrible impieties made a part of their public worship ; and private persons moreover, when they found themselves in any danger, either through sickness or otherwise, made vows to sacrifice human victims, persuaded as they were, that the life of one man could be only redeemed by that of another.

The ceremony used in sacrificing these unhappy victims was not always the same. Sometimes they plunged

plunged a sword into the back of the person whom they devoted to the wrath of their Gods, and by the palpitations of the dying victim pretended to divine or foretel what was to come. They pierced others with arrows, or fastened them to crosses. But their most solemn manner was to prepare a Colossus of osier twigs, in which they inclosed living men, with cattle, and savage beasts, which they afterwards set fire to, and so consumed men and beasts in the flames. However, there remained enough of the light of nature in them, to choose, as well as they could, criminal persons, and to believe that these sorts of victims, who had deserved death by their crimes, would be the most agreeable to their Gods. But for want of criminals, they made no scruple to sacrifice the innocent. When we represent such horrors committed in the country that we inhabit, what acknowledgments do we owe to the Christian Religion, which has delivered us from so frightful a blindness !

The Romans, when they became masters of Gaul, were willing to abolish these sacrifices, the disgrace of humanity. But were they worthy reformers of an abuse that they practised themselves ? Christianity alone has had the glory of putting an end to this cruel and impious worship where-ever that has prevailed.

The principal deities adored by the Gauls were, according to Cæsar, Mercury, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva. That is not to say, that they anciently knew these names, which were either Greek or Roman ; but they adored, under Gaulic names, deities to whom they attributed the same functions, that, among the Greeks and Romans, were the appendages of Mercury, Apollo, and the others we have named. Teutates was their Mercury. They looked upon this God as the inventor of arts, the protector of trade, and all the ways of getting money. They made him also preside over the highways, and he was invoked by travellers. Hésus, among the Gauls, was the God of war ; Taranis, the God of heaven ; Bélénus, the God of physic. I do not find a Gaulic name

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name answering to that of Minerva; but they honoured a Goddess who presided over works in which thread or wool was employed.

In a nation devoted to arms, the God of war could not but be extremely revered. Commonly when they took a resolution to fight, they consecrated to him all they took from the enemy; and after a victory they sacrificed every thing that had life, and the rest they piled up in heaps. In the time of Cæsar several of these piles were to be seen in different districts; and he says it was rare, that any person was found who dared steal from them, or hide any part in their houses. If such a thing happened, the person culpable was punished in the most rigorous manner.

Lucian tells us of another God honoured by the Gauls, which is not named by Cæsar. This is the Gaulic Hercules, who in the Celtic tongue was called Ogmius. The attributes with which they represented this deity had something very singular, and, at the same time, very ingenious in them. He was a true Hercules with the club, the lion's skin, the quiver and arrows. But * they gave him the form of an old man, and he drew to him a great multitude of men who were fastened by the ears. Their bands were chains of tissue wrought with gold, and a metal which was thought still more precious with an infinite delicacy, and resembling the finest and most magnificent collars. However, adds Lucian, although their chains were so weak, and they might easily have got away, yet they did not seem so much as to think of it. They made no resistance; but, on the contrary, followed their conqueror with an air of gaiety and satisfaction: they seemed to praise him, and would run before him, so that their chains became loose, and

* Ο γένος Ηρακλεῖς ἐκπίθετο αὐτόπτως πάμπολὺ τοι πλῆθος ὄλκες, εἰ τούτη
δεσματεῖνται δεσμοῖς δὲ ποὺ ὁ, στρατὸς λεπτὰς χρυσοῦ καὶ μάλιστρα μεγαλύτερα,
ὅρμες ἐκεῖσι τοῖς καλλιστοῖς, ὅμοις δὲ αἱ ἄστρα ποσεῖσται αὔλιοι, εἴτε δραμάτιοι
Σαλαμῖται, δυτικῶντες ἀντανακλαστοῖς ὅλοις αὐλιτεῖσται — ἀλλὰ φυλέροι τοιναὶ
καὶ γεγαδοτεῖς, καὶ τὸν ἄχοντα ἐπιτιθέντες, ἵστημέντοις ἀπάντες, καὶ τὸν φύσιον
ἔπιδειπτον τὸν δεσμοντὸν ἐπιχαλάντες, ἰσικότες ἀχθοῖς Θρομομένοις εἰ λιθοπότας
ἢ Κάρυοφθεῖ τροπήσας τῷ διε τὴν γλαῦπτα, εἰς πάσιν ὄλκομένοις αὐτὸς οἰνο-

LUCIAN Herc. G.ll.

one would imagine that they would have been sorry to have been set at liberty. The point from whence these chains proceeded was the tongue of the God, which was bored through at the end.

It is easy to perceive that this was an emblem of eloquence, the force of which is invincible, but operates nevertheless with so much sweetness, that it charms even those over whom it gains the victory. They painted the God with the features of old age, because years * mellow the dignity of stile, as well as that of the manners. I confess all this idea seems to me too ingenious to determine me easily to give the credit of it to those ancient Gauls, the lovers of violence, and who boasted to carry their law on the points of their swords. I readily believe that the Gaulic Hercules, at least such as it is described by Lucian, is posterior to Cæsar, and was not contrived till after the Romans had introduced a taste for the fine arts and eloquence into Gaul.

Cæsar farther makes mention of the God of the dead and of hell, as known among the Gauls; and they pretended even to have issued from him, which means no more, according to the observation of a learned and judicious interpreter, than that they looked upon themselves as Autochtones, that is to say, born in the country itself that they inhabited. Cæsar adds, that in consequence of this original which the Gauls attributed to themselves, they seemed to be willing to honour darkness, by reckoning the spaces of time by nights and not by days. But the same interpreter observes, that this practice of including the day between two settings of the sun, so that the night goes first, was not peculiar to the Gauls, and that it was received not only among the Germans their neighbours and their brothers, but among the Athenians, and among the Jews.

It remains for us to give an account of some of Cæsar's remarks on the domestic conduct of the Gauls.

* *Diserti senis compta & mitis oratio.* Cic.

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Sons never accompanied their fathers, till they were of age to bear arms. Till then it was looked upon as disgraceful for a son, whilst a child, to be seen in publick by the side of his father. This nation was so possessed with the love of war, that they esteemed nothing but with regard to this one object. And if it was allowed to fathers to give way to the sentiments of nature in their houses, they were not willing that they should seem publickly to reckon their family as anything, but as they were capable of serving the state in their battles.

Polygamy was in use among them, at least among the nobles and great men. Their marriages were very fruitful, which came, without doubt, from the simple and laborious life the men and women led; from thence that prodigious multiplication, which obliged them, from time to time, to detach swarms who went to seek their fortune elsewhere, because the too great number of inhabitants overburthened a land, which was perhaps one of the most fertile of the whole world.

When they married, they took from their land a portion equal to the fortune brought by the woman; the two shares being thus united were possessed in common, they served the couple in common, and they took care to preserve and gather together the fruits of them. After the death of one, the survivor remained sole proprietor, both of the principal stock and what had been saved by it.

The women were kept in a great dependence. Their husbands had over them the right of life and death, fathers over their children: And when any illustrious man died, his relations assembled, and upon the least suspicion that his wives had contributed to his death, they caused them to be put to the torture like slaves. If they were found culpable, iron and fire were employed to torment and destroy them.

The funerals of the rich and great were celebrated with great magnificence. The custom was to burn the dead, and with them all that had been agreeable

to them in their life-time, even to their animals: And not long before the time of Cæsar, they placed upon the funeral-pile of him, whose obsequies they performed, his slaves and clients that were the most valued by him, and consumed them in the same flames.

I think I cannot better conclude this description of the manners of the Gauls, than by a place in Virgil parallel to it, where that great poet, in shewing the customs and kind of life of the antient inhabitants of Latium, will bring before the reader the greatest part of those strokes by which Cæsar and Strabo have painted the Gauls, especially with regard to their ferocity, their rudeness, and their taste for war.

We * are a Nation, says Rutulus Numanus, robust and indefatigable from our first origin. As soon as our children are born, we plunge them in the rivers, and harden them against the cold of the waters and the ice. They are hardly able to go before we employ them in hunting, and teach them to make war with the inhabitants of the forests. To break horses, and draw the bow; these are the sports of their infancy. Our youth, laborious and accustomed to live on little, know but two exercises, to cultivate the land, and assail the towns of their enemies. All our life passes in handling iron, and it is with the points of our spears that we prick our oxen yoked to the plough. Cold and slothful old age alters nothing of the strength of our bodies, or the vigour of our courage. We cover our hairs when grey with a

* Durum ab stirpe genus: natos ad flumina primum
Deferimus, & eoque gelu duramus & undis.
Venatu invigilant pueri, sylvasque fatigant.
Flectere ludus equos & spicula tendere cornu:
At patiens operum pavoque affueta juventus
Aut rastris terram domat, aut quatit oppida bello.
Omne ævum ferro teritur, versaque juvencum
Terga fatigamus hastâ: nec tarda senectas
Debilitat vires animi mutatque vigorem.
Canitem galeâ premimus: semperque recentes
Convestante juvat prædas, & vivere rapto.

VIRGIL, Æn. IX, 603—613.

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helmet; and our glory as well as delight is, to run without ceasing always after fresh booty, and to live upon plunder."

These ancient manners of Latium, which very probably, in the first ages, were those of all the people of Europe, were proper to form soldiers. It is no surprizing that the Gauls, who always preserved them, should render themselves formidable to all Nations, and especially to the Romans. It is known that the Senones took Rome, and after that event the terror of the Gaulic name was so great among the Romans, that in their wars with that Nation all privilege ceased, and no one was exempt from taking arms; and, moreover, they kept in their Treasury sums of gold and silver, which was forbid to be touched, unless there happened a war with Gaul. Cicero also speaking in full Senate, makes no difficulty to avoid that the Romans could gain nothing over the Gauls by their strength of body and courage, and that they ought always to be contented with keeping upon the defensive with them. It was this powerful and warlike nation that Cæsar undertook to subdue: it wanted nothing less than all the merit of the greatest war that Rome had ever produced, to finish this design in eight campaigns.

Cæsar is therefore now going to appear in a light very different from that in which he has hitherto shown himself. This factious, this intriguing, this man always engaged with the worst party, always an enemy to the best citizens, is going to become a warrior, whose sublime merit will efface all the heroes passed ages, and be the despair of those who shall follow him. The superiority of his genius, which embraced every talent, wanted only opportunities to show itself in every kind. The same spirit animated all his designs. The same ambition that employed him in intrigues, carried him to war. He divided himself between these two objects the whole time that he spent in the conquest of Gaul; and after having passed the best season of the year in fighting, in the winter, approached

Cic. ad

Har. Resp.

19. & de

Prov.

Cons. 32.

approached again towards Rome to manage as he had always done.

But in considering him only here with respect to arms, it is not to be doubted but that his glory, as I have already said, surpassed that of all the other Roman Generals that ever were. If we compare to him, says Plutarch, the Scipio's and the Fabius's, the Marius's and the Sylla's, and lastly Pompey, whose fame was exalted to the sky, it will be found, that they must be all obliged to yield the pre-eminence to Cæsar. He carries it from one by the difficulty of the places where he made war, from another by the largeness of the country that he conquered; from this by the number and courage of the enemies he subdued; from that by the ferocity and infidelity of the minds and characters of those whom he softened and polished; from some by the clemency he used towards the vanquished, from others by the largeesses he bestowed upon his soldiers; and from them all by the number of battles he gained, and of enemies that he had slain. For in his eight campaigns he took eight hundred towns, subdued three hundred nations; and having fought in different actions with three millions of men, had killed one million, and made an equal number prisoners.

Pliny adds to this detail, that Cæsar fought fifty pitched battles, and makes the number of enemies killed by him to be eleven hundred fourscore and twelve thousand men, not taking into the account those who perished in the civil wars, upon which he had good reason to observe, that * so terrible a destruction of mankind ought not to be made a subject of Cæsar's glory, even though necessity could excuse the victor.

Among the military talents of Cæsar, one of those the most worthy of praise was, that he had not only made himself beloved by the soldiers, even to adora-

* Non equidem in gloriâ posuerim tantum, etiam coactam, humani generis injuriam. PLIN. vii. 25.

SOME PASSAGES CONCERNING CÆSAR.

tion, but had inspired them with all his fire, and all the nobleness of his sentiments. It was said that he had transformed them all to heroes. The passage may be remembered that I related of P. Scéva, at the time that Cæsar commanded in Hispania. Plutarch furnishes us here with three other facts of the like kind, which all belonged to the civil wars.

Suet. Cæf. In a naval fight near Marseilles a soldier, named
c. 68. Acilius, had his right hand cut off, whilst he supported
Val. Max. himself on the poop of an enemy's ship : nevertheless he jumped into it, and continued fighting with
III. 2. his buckler, which he constantly held in his left, and contributed not a little to the taking the ship, by an example of such heroic courage.

Val. Max. The action of a Centurion in a battle near Dyna-
III. 2. chium in Epirus, seems no less a prodigy. This Cen-
turion, who is named M. Cæsius by Valerius Maxi-
mus, and Sceva by Lucian, had had one of his eyes torn out by an arrow, his shoulder and his thigh pierced by two javelins, and had received an hundred and thirty strokes on his buckler, as well from the sword as from darts thrown at a distance. In this condition he called two of the enemy as it were to surrender himself ; but when they approached, reckoning themselves very secure from the situation in which they saw him, Cæsius cleaved down the shoulder of one by a stroke of his sword, overthrew the other by striking him in the face with his buckler, and saved himself by the assistance of some of his own People, who came to his succour.

Upon the coasts of Lybia one of Cæsar's ships which carried some soldiers with Granius, the Quæstor designed, was taken by Metellus Scipio. All were put to the sword, except the Quæstor, to whom they offered his life : but he refused it. "The soldiers of Cæsar, said he, are used to give life, and not to take it :" and in saying these words he fell upon his sword.

It is to Cæsar that the chief glory of these generous actions of those who served under him is to be attributed.

uated; because it was he who excited and nourished in them the sentiments that rendered them capable of him. For this he made use of two means. The first was to reward with magnificence; and his soldiers knew, that if he gathered riches together, it was not to satisfy his own luxury, nor his own pleasures: they were only, properly speaking, deposited in his hands, as the prizes destined for valour. He had no other share in these treasures, than to be the distributor to those who had shewn themselves worthy of them. The second means, not less efficacious, was, that he set an example to every one, and that there was no danger he would not expose himself to if there was need of it, nor any fatigue that he would not undergo.

His intrepidity in dangers was not what was the most astonishing. But it is hardly to be conceived, how he could gain so much upon the natural temperament of his body as to be able to bear all sorts of labour. For his health was very delicate, which sufficiently shewed itself in his countenance, having a very pale complexion and an air of weakness. He was subject to frequent pains in the head, and even to attacks from the falling sickness. * Nevertheless he did not make his ill health a pretext to give himself up to softness, but he was willing to make the war serve for a remedy to his ill health. He combated his illness by painful marches, by a simple and sparing life, and by passing the nights in the open air. He accustomed himself most times to sleep in a post-chaise, converting into action even the hours he was forced to take his repose in. When he marched by day, he had seated with him in his chaise a Secretary used to write what he dictated all along the journey, and behind him a soldier. This was all his practice. Active to a prodigy, and not knowing what it was ever to lose a moment, he would not em-

* Οὐ μελαχίστις ἴστηκε πάντα τὰ αἴροντα πρόσωπα, ἀλλὰ θεραπεύει τὰ αἴροντα πρόσωπα, ταῦτα ἀπέργεις ἰδεῖσθαι τοι, καὶ ταῦτα οὐδείλος δικτυάσῃ, καὶ τὸ θυματήριον, παλαίσμενον τῷ σώματι, καὶ τὸ σῶμα φρεάτης διεσθίασῃ. PLUT.

barras himself with equipages, which must necessarily have hindered him.

This * vivacity comparable to fire and lightning, this spirit always upon the stretch, and whose springs were perpetually in action, was one of the most remarkable parts of Cæsar's character. It was sufficient for all things at once. It is affirmed that he has been seen writing or reading, and at the same time dictating to a Secretary, and giving audience to those who came to speak to him. As to his letters, which turned, as it is easy to judge, on affairs of the greatest importance, when he employed himself only on them he dictated four at a time to four different Secretaries. It is therefore with reason that Pliny † looks upon him of all men as one who had the greatest force, and greatest extent of mind at the same time.

He joined to this an easiness and sweetness of manners, that rendered him infinitely amiable. In a banquet that one of his hosts gave him at Milan, they had served up asparagus on which perfume had been put instead of oil; Cæsar eat of them alone; and as his friends, who were more delicate than he was, shewed their disgust, he reprimanded them. "It is sufficient" said he, not to eat of what displeases us. To shew "our defect in not knowing how to live on the like " occasion, is being wanting to one's-self."

One day when he was upon a march, a storm and very bad weather forced him to take shelter in a cottage, where there was but one chamber to be found scarce large enough for one man. Cæsar upon this said to his friends who accompanied him, that the distinctions of honour belonged to those of the first rank, but the necessary conveniences of life were for the weakest. He therefore forced Oppius, who was indisposed, to take the chamber, and for himself he passed the night, with others, under the porch of the house. Who could have been compared to Cæsar,

* Celeritatem quodain igne volucrem. PLIN. vii. 25.

† Animi vigore præstantissimum arbitror genitum Cæsarem Dictorem.

to so many excellent qualities, he had added a respect to justice and the love of virtue?

This picture of Cæsar from facts, will be confirmed by all the sequel of his history, and particularly by the conduct that he maintained in the war with the Gauls. I am going to begin the recital of it.

S E C T. II.

Motions of the Allobroges some time before Cæsar's entry into Gaul. The Helvetii, encouraged by Orgetorix, resolve to leave their country, and settle themselves elsewhere. Orgetorix aspires at making himself King. Is about to be prosecuted, dies. His plan still followed. The Helvetii begin their march. They ask leave of Cæsar to pass the Rhone, which he refuses them. They pass the Defile between Mount Jura and the Rhone. Cæsar overtakes them at the passage of the Soan. He beats the Tigurins on this side that river. He passes it, and pursues the body of that nation. An embassy from the Helvetii. A battle of the horse, wherein the Helvetii are Victors. The treason of Dumnorix the Eduen. Cæsar pardons him in consideration of his brother Divitiacus. Through the fault of an Officer, Cæsar loses an opportunity that he had managed to beat the Helvetii. They come to attack Cæsar, and are vanquished. The rest of the conquered army are obliged to surrender. Cæsar sends them back to their own country. He is desired by the Gauls to undertake the war against Ariovistus. The occasion of this war. Cæsar demands an interview with Ariovistus, which he denies him. Cæsar sends Ambassadors to make his propositions. The haughty answer of Ariovistus. Cæsar marches against Ariovistus. He makes himself sure of Besancon. The terror which spread itself through the Roman army. The admirable conduct of Cæsar to re-animate the courage of his men. The success answers to it, and the troops march with confidence against the enemy. An interview between Ariovistus and Cæsar. The conference

MOTIONS OF THE HELVETII.

ence broke off by the perfidy of the Germans. Cæsar, at the request of Ariovistus, sends deputies to him. This Prince puts them in chains. Cæsar, several times, offers battle to Ariovistus, who declines it. The superstitious reason for this refusal. Cæsar forces the Germans to come to an engagement, and gains the victory. He recovers his two deputies. Cæsar goes to pass the winter in Cisalpine Gaul.

Dio, L.
xxxvii.
Cic. de
Prov.
Conf. n.
32.

Cæs de
B. Gall.
L. i. 4.

Plut. Cæs.
Dio. I.
xxxviii.

SINCE the conspiracy of Catiline there had been some motions among the * Allobroges. These People revolting under the conduct of a chief named Catugnatus, had carried war into the country which we call Provence, which for a long time, as we have said, had obeyed the Romans. But C. Pontinius had not had much difficulty to repulse their efforts; and satisfied with having brought them back to their duty, he thought that was enough to deserve a triumph. All being therefore peaceable on this side when Cæsar arrived in Gaul, the Helvetii † furnished him with an occasion for the war he desired.

Under the Consulship of Messala and Puppius Piso, two years before that of Cæsar, Orgetorix, the most illustrious and richest man among the Helvetii, inspired his nation with a desire to quit the country they inhabited, and to go and establish themselves in some other more fertile country of Gaul. The reasons that he employed to persuade them to it were, that shut up, as they were, between the Rhine, Mount Jura, the Lake ‡ Leman, and the Rhone, it was impossible for them to extend themselves, or to make conquests on their neighbours; and that nevertheless, forming a numerous body, the country that they occupied, and which was but an hundred and seventy-two miles in length, and seventy-six in breadth, was too strait to contain and nourish them. These mo-

* People of Savoy and Dauphiny.

† The Switzers.

‡ The Lake of Geneva.

ives had their effect upon a warlike and covetous people. But Orgetorix had his particular views.

He was to march at the head of his nation, to execute the design of which he was the author: but not content with the quality of Chief, he aspired to that of King. To succeed in which, he sought to procure himself accomplices and supports among the neighbouring People. It had been agreed by the Helvetii, that they would endeavour to secure their alliance. Orgetorix took upon him this negotiation. He went among the Sequani *, and the Edueni †, and engaged two of the greatest Lords of these two nations, Casticus and Dumnorix, to take measures to raise themselves to the royal dignity. He promised to second them with all the forces of the Helvetii, of which he had the command, upon condition that they should reciprocally lend him all their succours. And this Triumvirate flattered themselves that they should be powerful enough afterwards to subdue all the Gauls.

But the intrigue was discovered, and the Helvetii, jealous of their liberty, formed a process against the culpable. He was arrested; and if he had been condemned, nothing less would have been his fate than to have been burnt alive. On the day that judgment was to be given, Orgetorix called together all his family, to the number of ten thousand men; his clients and debtors, of which the multitude was very great, came also to the Assembly, and all together tore the accused by force from the severity of the Judges. The nation would have had recourse to arms to make their authority respected: the Magistrates had already raised forces, when Orgetorix died, so *á propos*, that it was thought his death was voluntary.

The scheme of which he had given the Helvetii an idea, was nevertheless put in execution. The preparations continued for two years, which were em-

* The People of the Franche-Comte.

† The People of Autun.

ployed in gathering together beasts of burthen, and waggons, and to make magazines of corn, that might be sufficient to subsist a nation in their march, till they could make a conquest of some good and fertile country. They took advantage also of this time to strengthen themselves by allies and companions, who were the Rauraci *, the Tulingi, the Latobrigi, and a swarm of the Boii transplanted into Norica. It was these motions that gave uneasiness to the Romans under the Consulship of Metellus Celer and of Afranius, as I have related. But the year of this Consulship and the following, which was that of Cæsar, was destined by the Helvetii only for preparations.

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58.

L. CALPURNIUS PISO.
A. GABINIUS.

When the time of departure was come, that is to say, in the first months of the Consulship of Piso and Gabinius, the Helvetii burnt their towns to the number of twelve, their little boroughs and villages which amounted to four hundred, and what corn they had too much, in order to take away from themselves all hopes of ever returning to their country, and to encourage themselves by this motive to brave all dangers. Thus, carrying with them no other provisions than meal for three months, they began their march, men, women and children, making all together three hundred and sixty-eight thousand souls, of which four-score and twelve thousand were fighting men. Their general rendezvous was on the banks of the Rhone over-against Geneva, where they were all to meet on the 26th of March.

The Helvetii, passing the Rhone, entered into the Roman Province. Cæsar was no sooner informed of their design, than he went away from about Rome,

* Those of Bale, which then made no part of the Helvetic body. The Tulingi and the Latobrigi were neighbours of the Helvetii. This is all we know with certainty. The Boii were originally the People of the Bourbonnois, Colonies of whom settled in Germany and in Italy. Norica was Favarria and part of Austria.

where

where he had remained till then for the reasons I A. R. 694.
have already mentioned, and came with all speed to Ant. C.
Geneva. He began with breaking down the bridge;
which that city had over the Rhone; and as he had
but one Roman Legion in Transalpine Gaul, he or-
dered great levies to be made throughout the whole
Province.

When the Helvetii were informed of the arrival of Cæsar, they sent two Ambassadors to him, chosen from among the best qualified of their nation, to de-
sire a passage cross the Roman Province, upon which they promised to make no waste. Cæsar took care not to allow them such a permission. He knew that a part of the Helvetii had formerly cut in pieces the army of the Consul L. Cassius. And independently of that reason, it was easy to conceive that a country could not but be horribly vexed by the passage of such a multitude, very probably not too well disciplined. It was therefore well resolved to refuse them their request. But as he had yet but few forces with him, he was willing to gain time, and told them he would consider of the proposition they had made him, and return them his answer on the 13th of April. He took the advantage of this interval, to cause the troops he had under his command, to build a wall sixteen feet high, and nineteen thousand paces in length, with a fosse, and several redoubts from space to space. This wall was designed to hinder the passage of the Rhone, which in these parts is fordable in more places than one.

On the day appointed the Helvetii returned. Cæsar, who had already got together a greater number of troops, explained himself clearly, refused them the passage, and added, that if they pretended to force it in spite of him, he very well knew how to prevent them. In short, all the attempts they could make by day or by night, either with boats, or in searching for fords, were fruitless; and the Helvetii were constrained to take another route, and turn to the side of the Sequani.

A.R. 694. They were forced to file off by a neck of land very
 Ant. C. strait between Mount Jura and the Rhone, where
 58. two waggons could not pass abreast; so that it was
 in the power of the Sequani, by posting themselves
 on the mountain, to stop them short. The Helvetii
 addressed themselves to Dumnorix the Eduen, the
 son-in-law of Orgetorix, and the accomplice of his
 ambitious designs. This man, who had some credit
 among the Sequani, charged himself with the negotia-
 tion. The freedom of passage was agreed to, and
 hostages given on both sides. The Helvetii hereupon
 began to traverse the country of the Sequani, whom
 they respected according to their agreement, and af-
 terwards that of the Edueni, where they committed
 all kind of hostilities and ravages. Their scheme was
 to go into Santone.

Cæsar, informed of their march and their design, leaves Labienus to defend the wall he had erected near the Rhone, returns into Italy, raises two Legions there, takes three that remained in winter-quarters near Aquileia, and with these five Legions returns to the Alps, passes them, but not without having the inhabitants of the mountains to combat with, descends into the country of the * Vocontii, crosses that of the Allobroges, passes the Rhone, enters upon the lands of the † Segusii; all this with such speed, that he overtook the Helvetii at the passage of the Soan. It is true that this prodigious multitude marched but slowly. They took up twenty days in passing the Soan; and Cæsar, when he arrived there, still found on this side the river the Canton of the ‡ Tigurins, who made one fourth part of the nation.

He had received on the road the complaints of the Edueni, and those of the Allobroges, who inhabited on the right of the Rhone, upon the havock that the Helvetian army had made in their country; and by promising to take their quarrel upon him, he obliged

* The Diois.

† The Lyonnais.

‡ Those of Zurich.

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them to furnish him with troops, and especially with horse. Thus the chief of the Eduenian Nobility were in the Roman army, and among others Dumnorix, who in his heart favoured the Helvetii, but nevertheless came to the camp of Cæsar, with an intent to hurt him and traverse his designs, as much as he could. Cæsar was not yet informed of this treachery, and he had no room to suspect it in the battle with the Tigurins. He had taken three Legions, with which he fell upon them, defeated them entirely, and killed a great number on the spot; the others dispersed themselves by flying into the forests.

It was the People of this same Canton, who fifty years before had vanquished and killed the Consul, Q. Cassius. Cæsar was charmed, in his first Victory, to have revenged the disgrace of the Roman name, upon those who were the authors of it. He had himself a domestic interest in it, because L. Piso, the grandfather of his father-in-law, had perished in the same defeat with Cassius.

Cæsar conqueror of the Tigurins, resolved to pursue the body of the nation, and for that purpose built a bridge over the Soan, and passed it in a day. The enemy, surprized and dismayed at such diligence, sent him an embassy, at the head of which was Divico, formerly chief of the Helvetii, when they defeated the army of Cassius, and who consequently must have been very old. I shall relate his discourse with Cæsar, because therein the character of the People is drawn.

Divico said then to Cæsar, " That if the Romans would make peace with the Helvetii, these would go and settle themselves in the country that Cæsar should appoint them. But if he was resolved to make war with them, he called to his remembrance the ancient disgrace of the Romans, and the valour of the Helvetic nation. That for having surprized one of the Cantons, while the others had passed the river, and could not succour their comrades, he had no reason to be much elated on the advantage, nor

to

A. R. 694. to despise his enemies. That for them, they had
 Ant. C. been instructed by their fathers and their ancestors to
 58. depend more on their courage, than on cunning and
 ambushes. That they should venture therefore to
 render the place where they were posted famous by a
 new defeat of the army of the Roman People."

This was not the language of a suppliant. Cæsar did not seem offended at it, and answered with moderation, but like a man who would give the law. He undertook to prove that the Helvetii were altogether wrong with respect to the Romans, and concluded that, nevertheless, he granted them a peace if they would give hostages, and promise satisfaction to the Edueni and the Allobroges, whose countries they had ruined. Divico replied fiercely, "that the Helvetii were not accustomed to give but receive hostages, and that no body knew it better than the Romans." Indeed, the remains of Cassius's army could not have obtained life but by giving hostages and by passing under the yoke.

Divico being returned to the Helvetii, they put themselves in march, according to their first plan, and Cæsar followed them. He had four thousand horse raised in Gaul, among which was a considerable body of the Edueni commanded by Dumnorix. All this cavalry had orders to go before, and harrahs the enemy; but engaging in a disadvantageous place, they were beaten by a detachment of the Helvetic horse, who were not above five hundred strong. It was upon this occasion that the treason of Dumnorix began to shew itself: for he took flight the first with those under his command. Notwithstanding this check, in which the disgrace was greater to the Romans than the loss, Cæsar advanced still at the heels of the Helvetii, so that during fifteen days the two armies always encamped within five or six miles of one another. If there was no battle in this space of time, it was not that the Helvetii, encouraged by the success they had had with their cavalry, did not seek an opportunity for it: but Cæsar avoided it, waiting for a place

place and time when he might attack them to advantage.

Nevertheless he was not without uneasiness on account of subsisting his army. The corn which the Edueni had promised him, did not come; and when he demanded it of them, they payed him with fair speeches, of which he saw no effect. He was willing to dive into the cause of all these delays, and having interrogated the sovereign Magistrate of the Edueni, and the chiefs of the nation, who were in his camp, he learnt that his resentment ought to fall upon Dumnorix, who, all-powerful with the multitude, had persuaded many of them, that if they must receive masters, it would be much better to obey the Helvetii, Gauls like themselves, than the Romans. In this he did not reason ill. But his secret scheme was, as we have seen, to raise himself to the sovereignty, and with this view endeavoured to secure the friendship of the Helvetii.

Cæsar found himself very much embarrassed with respect to the conduct he ought to maintain towards Dumnorix. Such a treason seemed not fit to go unpunished: but the guilty person was brother to Divitiacus, a man of probity, a faithful ally of the Romans, and on the foot of friendship with Cæsar. The General therefore thought he could not act against Dumnorix till he had acquainted his brother with it, and obtained his consent. He sent for him, laid before him all the complaints he had against his brother, and desired him not to take it ill if he made himself, or caused the nation of the Edueni to make, a process out against Dumnorix. Divitiacus threw himself at his feet, and confessed to him all his brother's faults: he added, that he himself had reason to complain of him; for though he was his elder brother by several years, he had greatly contributed to his elevation, and was nevertheless repaid only with ingratitude: but represented to Cæsar, that all criminal as he was, Dumnorix was his brother; and if the younger should suffer a rigorous treatment while the elder

A. R. 694. elder continued in favour, all Gaul would be enraged
 Ant. C. at Divitiacus for the punishment of Dumnorix, and
 58. no longer look upon him but with horror. Cæsar
 had mildness and clemency enough to yield immedi-
 ately to these representations. He took Divitiacus
 by the hand, comforted him, and told him he would
 forgive his brother; and having caused Dumnorix to
 be brought into the presence of the other, he let him
 know the subjects of complaint he had against him,
 exhorted him to behave so that he might be free of all
 suspicion for the future, and then sent him back again:
 but nevertheless, as he could not confide in him, he
 gave him guards, and thus the affair ended. But
 Dumnorix, always unquiet and a lover of novelties,
 found at length the death he had sought, as we shall
 relate hereafter.

The same day that this happened, Cæsar learnt,
 by his scouts, that the enemy were posted at the foot
 of a mountain about eight miles from his camp. He
 informed himself of the nature of the place, and learn-
 ing that there was a by-road by which it was easy to
 reach the top of the mountain, he sent Labienus with
 a detachment to seize it, and marched himself di-
 rectly to the enemy. An officer who had reputation,
 was ordered to go before to reconnoitre the state of
 affairs. When the Roman army was not above fifteen
 hundred paces from the Helvetii, this officer ran,
 and reported that the summit of the mountain was
 taken up by the enemy, and that he had seen the
 Gaulic arms and ensigns there. There was nothing in
 it, but his fear had made him take Labienus's de-
 tachment for the troops of the Gauls. Cæsar, de-
 ceived by this false report, did not judge it proper to
 advance, and lost thus, by the fault of this officer, an
 opportunity to have crushed the enemy, who would
 not have been able to have defended themselves, at-
 tacked on both sides, at the same time, by Labienus
 and Cæsar.

As there was but very little provision left in the
 Roman army, Cæsar was under a necessity to quie-
 the

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the pursuit of the enemy, and turn towards * Bibracte A.R. 694.
 the capital city of the Edueni. The Helvetii informed of this motion, instead of thinking themselves happy to have got clear of the Romans, who pursued them, came of themselves to seek for them. At their approach, Cæsar with his troops retired to a little hill, and sent the cavalry to meet the Gauls and stop them. He took all advantages, covered the whole hill with arms and soldiers, making his main body of the four Legions, in which he had the greater confidence because they had served already, and posting above them a body of reserve of the two Legions new raised in Cisalpine Gaul. He had reason to be cautious. The Helvetii easily repulsed the Roman cavalry; and forming themselves into a square Phalanx, which they took care to fence with a military tortoise, that is to say, their bucklers joined one against another, as well before, as on their flanks, and over their heads, they advanced furiously, and notwithstanding the disadvantage of the place, attacked the Romans, who were posted half-way up the hill. Cæsar was sensible of the great danger they were in, and to shew his soldiers that he intended fully to share it with them, he put himself on foot with all his officers, and sent away all the horses, that no hope might remain to any one but in victory.

The battle began at one of the clock in the afternoon, and continued till evening, without the Romans seeing the back of one of the enemies. Even after the Helvetian army had been obliged to give ground, they returned afresh to the charge; and there happened still a third battle, near the baggage, which lasted a good part of the night. But all the efforts of this obstinate bravery were in vain. The Romans seized their camp and their baggage; but not without a very considerable loss. Cæsar, who does not tell the number of his slain, confesses that the care of burying them, and of dressing the wound-

* Autun.

A. C. 694. ed, obliged him to continue upon the spot three days,
 Ant. C. during which time the unhappy remains of the Hel-
 58. vetian nation, to the number of an hundred and
 thirty thousand souls, retreated in a precipitate flight
 and in a march of four days arrived in the territories
 of the Lingones.

For all this they did not escape their Victor, whose
 incredible activity never left a victory imperfect. Af-
 ter three days allowed to necessary repose, he set him-
 self to pursue the Helvetii, and at the same time, sent
 couriers, with orders to the Langri, forbidding them
 to give corn or any other assistance to the fugitives, if
 they would not be treated as they should. This me-
 nace had its effect; and the Helvetii, reduced to an
 extreme scarcity, were obliged to humble their pride,
 and send deputies to Cæsar to make their submission,
 and put themselves in his hands. These deputies
 found Cæsar in full march, and throwing themselves
 at his feet, desired peace of him with humble pray-
 ers and tears in their eyes. Cæsar gave them no other
 answer but that he would have the Helvetii wait for
 him at the place where they were then incamped.

When he arrived there, he demanded hostages of
 them, their arms, and the slaves who had deserted
 and were received in their camp. While they were
 considering of the execution of the orders that the
 Conqueror exacted from them, he passed some time,
 and the night came on. Six thousand men of the
 Canton called * Urbigenians, either through the re-
 mains of pride, which made them look upon this
 submission as ignominious, or dreading the conse-
 quences of it, or for some other motive, chose to
 steal away from the camp in the beginning of the
 night, and take the route of the Rhine and Germany.
 Cæsar was no sooner informed of this, than he dis-
 patched orders to all the People whose countries they
 were to pass through, to stop them wherever they

* This canton took its name from the little town of Orbe in the country of Vaud.

should be found, and to send them back to him. He was obeyed, and the unhappy Ur̄bigenians were treated by him as enemies, that is, put to the sword.

As to the others, after they had delivered the hostages that were required of them, their arms, and the deserters, he granted them all their lives. There were four nations ruined, the † Helvetii, the Tulingi, the Latobrigi, and the Boii. The three first of these People had orders to return to their country, and rebuild the towns and villages that they had burnt. Cæsar was not willing that the Germans, drawn by the goodness of the land, which is thought at this day not very fruitful, but which he took to be fertile, and which perhaps was better cultivated than the lands of Germany, should be tempted to come and occupy the places which the Helvetii and their allies had left vacant. As to the Boii, the Edueni demanded, which was granted them, that this brave nation should be incorporated with them.

Thus was ended the first war that Cæsar had made in Gaul. The success of it was compleat. Cæsar shewed that he knew how both to conquer, and to make the best of his victory. The loss of the Helvetii and their allies was above two thirds of their number. Of three hundred sixty-eight thousand that they were at coming away, there returned but an hundred and ten thousand to their country again.

Cæsar undertook a second war the same campaign, not against the Gauls, but at their desire and in their defence.

I have said that Gaul was divided into two factions, of which one had the Edueni for their Chiefs, and the other the Sequani supported by the People of Avergne. These two factions had for a long time been at war, and that of the Edueni had the advantage. The vanquished, by a bad policy, practised in all times, and always fatal, could not resolve to sub-

† Cæsar does not speak here of the Rauraci. He comprehends them very likely under the name of the Helvetii.

A. R. 694. mit to their countrymen, but had recourse to a stranger. They called in Ariovistus King of the Suevi in Germany, who for a sum of money that they remitted to him, passed the Rhine, and came to their succour. The Germans, at that time more fierce and more warlike even than the Gauls, brought victory over to the party they embraced. The Edueni and their confederates were vanquished. Ariovistus imposed a Tribute upon them, and obliged them to give him hostages. He even forced them to swear that they would never demand their hostages back again, nor ever implore the assistance of the Roman People, and that they would never withdraw themselves from the dominion of the Sequani, that is to say, from his own. For the Sequani who had called him in, were subdued by him, as well as the others, and even worse used, for he appropriated to himself a third part of their territory, and established himself there, finding their country better than that he had quitted. He augmented his forces, and instead of fifteen thousand men, that he at first brought with him, he had presently sixscore thousand; so that finding himself too much straitened, he prepared, at the time that Cæsar made war with the Helvetii, to seize on a second or third part of the country of the Sequani. The Gauls therefore groaned under the oppression of a nation whom they looked upon as Barbarians, and dreaded still greater ills to follow, not doubting but Ariovistus had a design to conquer all Gaul, and bring it under his Empire.

In these circumstances Cæsar appeared as their deliverer. His victory over the Helvetii, whose invasion could not fail of being fatal, at least, to a great part of the Gauls, had delivered them from an imminent danger. They thought he would be no less useful against Ariovistus, and herein they were not mistaken. But they did not, or would not, see, that their liberty was in much more danger from the Romans and Cæsar.

They

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They began with asking leave of him, as if they already acknowledged him for their master, to hold a general Assembly of all the People of Gaul. The Assembly was held, with the precaution of obliging all the members who composed it to take an oath, that they would keep as an inviolable secret whatever they deliberated upon; and that no one should be permitted to open his mouth but those who were charged with the orders of the Assembly. In consequence of the resolution taken herein to implore the assistance of Cæsar, several Deputies of the first rank in Gaul were found in it. Divitiacus spoke first.

He first of all laid open all that I have related concerning Ariovistus. He added, that if some stop was not put to it, all the Germans would pass the Rhine, drawn by the mildness of the climate of Gaul, very different from their own, and desirous as they were to exchange their savage way of living for the more agreeable and polite manners of the Gauls. He represented Ariovistus as a Barbarian, passionate and cruel, who had exacted from them to give for hostages the children of the best families in Gaul, and who in time, upon the least caprice, might make these illustrious young men suffer the most horrible torments. He concluded that if the Gauls could not find protection in Cæsar and the Romans, they should be obliged to do like the Helvetii, to abandon their country, and go to seek elsewhere a quiet abode. In finishing he demanded the secrecy of Cæsar, because if Ariovistus was informed of the step they had taken with the Romans, there was no room to doubt but that he would exercise all sorts of barbarities against the hostages that he had in his hands.

All the other Deputies joined with Divitiacus, to conjure Cæsar with tears to grant them his protection. The Sequani alone kept a pensive silence, with their heads hung down, and their eyes fixed on the ground. Cæsar asked them the reason of this silence; but they made no answer. After he had interrogated them several times without getting one word from them, Di-

A. R. 694. vitiacus served them for an interpreter. He said that
 Ant. C. the condition of the Sequani was so deplorable, that
 53. they durst not even complain, not less dreading the
 cruelty of Ariovistus absent, than if he was before
 their eyes, because he enjoyed a part of their country
 and was master of all their towns. That of conse-
 quence they could not have even the melancholy hope
 of getting away from their tyrant by a voluntary re-
 treat, and that they could not but expect the most
 horrible punishments, if they should happen to be
 discovered.

Nothing could better agree with the secret views of
 Cæsar, and the desire he had of acquiring glory and
 power by his arms, than to undertake a war with
 Ariovistus: but he was willing to colour his ambition
 with specious pretexts and reasons, and would not
 seem to be evidently unjust. He had himself, during
 his Consulship, caused Ariovistus to be declared King
 a friend and ally of the Roman People. It was no
 therefore allowable to attack him, without first trying
 the methods of mildness and pacification. He chose
 to send to him to demand an interview. Ariovistus
 was intolerably proud and haughty, and answered
 brutally, "that if he had any business with Cæsar
 he would go to him; and if Cæsar had any business, he
 might take the pains to come to him."

Cæsar was not discouraged; he sent fresh Ambassadors to him, to tell him, "that as he had been honoured, by Cæsar and the Roman Senate, with the title of King, a friend and ally, he did not shew his acknowledgment of such a benefit by refusing a conference that he proposed to him; but they were come to let him know what Cæsar desired of him. The first place he required of him that he should no more bring on this side the Rhine any bands of Germans into Gaul. Secondly, that he should surrender himself, and likewise permit the Sequani to surrender their hostages to the Edueni; lastly, to forbear all violences against the said Edueni, and not make war upon them, or their allies. That if Ariovistus would

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observe all this, friendship might still continue between the Romans and him, but if he refused demands so just, Caesar was authorized by a decree of the Senate, made under the Consulship of Messalla and Piso, to defend the Edueni, ancient allies and brethren of the Romans: and that he was firmly resolved not to suffer them to be oppressed."

The answer of Ariovistus was very haughty. He pretended, "that the Romans had no more a right to prescribe to him in what manner he ought to treat a People conquered by him, than he should be willing to impose laws of the like kind upon them. That he would not surrender the hostages of the Edueni. That he consented not to make war upon them, provided they were faithful in observing the treaty he had made with them, and in paying him the annual tribute that was agreed upon; but if they missed thereby the quality of brethren of the Romans, it was but a slight advantage to them. As to Caesar's menace of taking their quarrel in hand, he ought to know, that no body had ever entered into a war with Ariovistus, who had not found it to their loss. That he might prove it whenever he pleased. That he would soon learn what the bravery of the Germans could do, always invincible, constantly trained up to arms, and who for fourteen years had never lodged under a roof."

At the same time that Caesar received this answer from Ariovistus, the deputies of the Edueni and those of Treves came to him. The first complained of the * Harudi, a German Nation, who a little while since had passed the Rhine, to join Ariovistus, and ravaged their country; so that, with all their submissions, they could not obtain peace from their proud enemies. Those of Treves acquainted Caesar, that a great multitude of the Suevi had approached the banks of the Rhine, and were preparing to pass it. These accounts determined Caesar not to delay undertaking the war, and as soon as he had made the neces-

* It is not known from what part of Germany these People came.

A. R. 694. Ant. C. 58. fary provisions for subsisting his army, he marche against Ariovistus.

After three days march, he learnt that the German advanced with all his forces to seize on Besancon. This place was full of all sorts of warlike ammunition, and it was very strong of itself, says Cæsar. The river Doux went round it like a circle described by the compasses. It left only an interval of six hundred paces but which was closed by a mountain the foot of which extended on both sides to the bank of the river. This mountain was shut in with a wall that joined it to the city, to which it served as the citadel. Cæsar made so much haste that he came there before Ariovistus, and secured to himself this important place ; he stayed there some time, to make his dispositions with respect to provisions.

During this stay, the Romans in discoursing with the Gauls, especially with those who, on account of their trade, were the most familiar with the Germans, learnt terrible things of the enemy they were come to seek. They exaggerated to them the enormous size of the Germans, their incredible boldness, and the continual exercise they made of their arms. The Gauls confessed, that it oftentimes happened in battle, that they were not able to support the very looks of this fierce nation. These discourses had a very great effect, especially upon the young officers of the Roman army, who, deceived by the softness with which Cæsar lived in the city, had followed him, in hopes of finding in his camp the same pleasures, the same amusements, and above all an opportunity of enriching themselves. These young men, who had no experience in the military art, were strangely terrified. Several desired their discharges on divers pretences ; and those who, through shame, chose to continue, could neither hide the fear that appeared in their countenances, nor sometimes even refrain from tears. Sometimes shut up in their tents, they wept their unhappy fate ; sometimes they lamented with their friends the danger to which they were going to be exposed.

posed. Throughout the whole camp every one made his last will and testament, as if they were going to certain death. This terror became general: It communicated itself to the soldiers, and even to the veteran officers. Only, to avoid the reproach of cowardice, they said it was not the enemy they feared, but the defiles and forests that they had to pass, and the difficulty of getting provisions. Some of them gave notice to Cæsar, that if he ordered their departure, he would not be obeyed by the soldiers.

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This was one of the occasions wherein Cæsar shewed he was most worthy of himself. For to whom can he be compared? He assembled a grand council, whither he called not only those who had a right to enter into it, but all the Captains. There he began to reprimand them sharply, for taking upon them to examine which way and on what design they were to march. He afterwards presented to them different reasons, to shew that they were in the wrong to look upon the Germans as invincible. "As to those *," added he, "who cover their timidity under false pretences, throwing it on the pretended danger of wanting provisions, and the difficulty of the route, they much forget themselves, in wanting confidence in their General, or pretending to prescribe to him what he ought to do. I have taken care of all: The Sequani, the Leuci †, the Lingones, will fur-

* Qui suum timorem in rei frumentariae simulationem angustiasque itinerum conferrent facere arroganter: quum aut de officio Imperatoris desperare, aut ei præscribere viderentur. Hæc sibi esse curæ. Frumentum Sequanos, Lucos, Lingonesque subministrare; jamque esse in agris frumenta matura. De itinere ipsos brevi tempore judicatores. Quod non fore dicto audientes milites neque signa laturi dicantur, nihil se eâ re commoveri. Scire enim, quibusunque exercitus dicto audiens non fuerit, aut male re gesta fortunam defuisse, aut aliquo facinore comperto avaritiam esse convictam. Suam innocentiam perpetuâ vitâ, felicitatem Helvetiorum bello esse perspectam. Itaque se, quod in longiore diem collaturus esset, repræsentaturum, & proximâ nocte de quartâ vigiliâ castra moturum, ut quam primum intelligere posset; utrum apud eos pudor atque officium, an timor, plus valeret. Quod si præterea nemo sequatur, tamen se cum solâ decimâ legione iturum, de quâ non dubitaret, sibiique eam prætorianam cohortem futuram. Cæs. de B. Gall. L. I. n. 31.

† Those of Toul in Lorrain.

" nish

A. R. 694. " nish me with corn ; and moreover the harvest
 Ant. C. " the country is quite ready. As to the difficultie
 58. " and dangers of the route, you will immediately have
 " it in your power to judge of them yourselves. They
 " tell me that the soldiers will refuse to obey me
 " and not go away at my orders. This I do not ap-
 " prehend. I know that if some Generals have found
 " their soldiers disobedient, they have drawn that
 " trouble upon themselves, either by some ill success
 " or by their covetousness and injustice. For my
 " part, the whole course of my life will sufficiently
 " clear me from the suspicion of loving money ; and
 " my good fortune has shewn itself in the war with
 " the Helvetii ; therefore I declare to you, that what
 " I had resolved to delay for some time, I am going
 " to put in execution instantly ; and I will give or-
 " ders for departing this night three hours before day,
 " that I may see as soon as may be if honour and
 " duty have more power over you than fear. And
 " although every one else should abandon me, I will
 " march with the tenth Legion alone, of whose fide-
 " lity and courage I have no manner of doubt, and
 " this Legion shall serve me for my prætorian
 " guard."

Who can help being charmed with this eloquence ? Every thing, and every word is introduced to the purpose, and its value is drawn from the great courage expressed in it, and its exalted sentiments. But to be eloquent in this manner is to be Cæsar.

He had reason to be satisfied with the impression he had made by his discourse. The disposition of the minds of his people was entirely changed, and throughout the whole army there was an incredible ardor to march against the enemy. The tenth Legion sent to him to return him the most lively thanks for the good opinion he had of them, and to give him assurances that they would answer it by their deeds. The other Legions deputed their principal Officers to go to him, to protest that they never had among them either fear, doubt, or hesitation ; and that they

always

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58.

always remembered, that it was the General and not the soldiers, who was to decide upon the undertaking and the conduct of the war. Cæsar took advantage of this ardor, and departed, as he declared he would, the same night. He was informed of the roads by Divitiacus, who was, of all the Gauls, the person in whom he had the most confidence. Upon the lights he had from him, he took a circuit that lengthened his march to forty miles, to avoid the narrow passes and woods, and to have only an open country to cross; and after a march of seven days successively, he found himself within twenty-four thousand paces of Ario-vitus's camp.

When the German saw Cæsar so near him, he sent to him to offer the interview he had before refused, Cæsar, always desirous to avoid all reproaches on his proceedings, made no difficulty upon this article. They agreed upon the day, which was the fifth reckoned from that on which the proposition was made. In the interval there were frequent deputations, from one side and the other, to regulate all the circumstances and conditions of the interview; and Ario-vitus, who had not seemed to have acted with good faith throughout this whole affair, exacted from Cæsar that he should not bring with him his infantry, under pretence that he feared an ambuscade. Cæsar consented to it. But as he had not Roman cavalry enough to make head against that of the Germans, and as he did not think it safe for him to put his person and his life in the hands of the Gaulic cavalry, he dismounted all the horsemen of the Gauls, and ordered them to lend their horses to the soldiers of the tenth Legion, which was his favourite Legion. Upon which one of these soldiers said well enough, "that Cæsar did more for them than he had promised. That he had only given them hopes of a service more noble in the Infantry by designing them for his guard, and that now he had raised them to the rank of horse."

There was a large plain between the two camps, near the middle of which was a rising ground of an indif-

A. R. 694. indifferent size, and to that it was that Cæsar and Ariovistus advanced to meet each other, each accompanied by ten friends or principal officers: all the rest of their people remained at two hundred paces distance. The conversation was on horseback. Cæsar represented to Ariovistus the kindness with which he himself and the Roman Senate had honoured him, acknowledging him for King, a friend and ally of the Empire: a kindness which he set off very emphatically, for the Romans knew how to set a value on the favours they bestowed. He afterwards strongly maintained the strict alliance that had subsisted for a long time between the Romans and the Edueni. He concluded with repeating the same demands that he had already made by his deputies.

Ariovistus defended himself with haughtiness. He justified his entrance into Gaul, in that he had not come thither, but at the request of the Gauls themselves; and the tributes that he exacted from the Edueni, upon the right of war, which authorized the Conqueror to impose laws on the vanquished. As to the friendship of the Roman People, he had desired it that he might derive honour and profit from it, and not that at length it should be prejudicial to him; that if, under the pretext of this friendship, they intended to make him lose his tributes, which were the fruit of his victory, and his right over the People subdued by the force of arms, he should refuse it with as much earnestness as he fought it. He went farther, and maintained that all Gaul, except the Roman Province, was his Empire, and that it was not just to trouble him in a country that belonged to him. He pretended therefore that Cæsar ought to quit it, and retire with his troops. "If you do not," added he, "there is no longer any friendship between us, "and I shall look upon you as an enemy. I even "know that if I should slay you in battle, I shall do "a pleasure to several of the most illustrious Citizens "of Rome; they have explained themselves to me "by couriers that I have received from them, and "your

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Ant. C.
58.

your death would be to me the price of their friendship. If, on the contrary, you will retire, and leave me master of Gaul, I am in a condition to reward you; and whatever war you shall please to undertake, I will engage myself to put an end to it, without it costing you any pains or danger."

These intelligences maintained between the Roman Lords and Ariovistus against Cæsar, is, in my opinion, a very extraordinary fact: but to what lengths will not the animosity of dissensions carry some men? For the rest, all the German pride appeared in this discourse, to which Cæsar answered with as much calmness as the King of the Suevi had shewn passion. But their pretensions were so wide of one another's, that they might well reproach themselves: Cæsar would give law in every thing, and Ariovistus would grant nothing.

The perfidy of the Germans broke up the conference. While Cæsar was yet speaking, they approached the mount, and threw darts and stones against the Romans. Cæsar immediately quitted Ariovistus, and retreated to the midst of his own People; however, forbade them to commit any act of hostility that might bring on a battle. He did not fear the success of it, but he was willing to maintain a conduct perfectly clear, and leave the blame of all upon his enemies. At his return to his camp, he took great care to spread abroad the exorbitant propositions of Ariovistus, and the arrogance he had had to abuse the Gauls to the Romans: this, joined to the breach of faith in the Germans troubling a pacific interview, irritated and more and more stirred up the courage of Cæsar's soldiers, and gave them the greater ardor to fight.

Two days after Ariovistus sent to demand a fresh interview with Cæsar, or at least that he would depute some one who might continue the negotiation begun. Cæsar had done enough to put it in a method, and therefore refused the interview; and to send some illustrious Roman to Ariovistus, was to expose

A. R. 694. expose his Deputy to great danger, and almost to deliver him up to the Barbarians. Nevertheless he was not willing to be thought the first who broke off all hopes of a peace. He cast his eyes therefore on Valerius Proculus, a Gaul by birth, but whose father had been made a Roman Citizen. He was a young man of wit, of gentle manners, and who could confer with Ariovistus without the help of an interpreter; because this Prince, in the long time that he had lived in Gaul, had learned the language of the country. Lastly, as he was not a person of the first rank any treachery towards him would be without effect. Cæsar joined to him M. Mettius, who was allied to Ariovistus by the rights of hospitality. It appeared by the event, that this was a wise precaution of Cæsar for his two Deputies were no sooner arrived in the camp of the Germans, than Ariovistus asked them what they came for, and if they wanted to spy what was passing in his army; and immediately put them in chains.

The next day Ariovistus advanced within six thousand paces of the Roman camp, and the day following went two thousand beyond it, to cut off their communication with the countries that were behind them, and hinder them from receiving provisions either from the Sequani or the Edueni. Cæsar offered battle to the Germans for five days successively. But Ariovistus constantly kept his troops shut up in his camp. Only there were some combats between the horse, which was the part of their forces in which the Germans had most confidence, and with reason. Their cavalry was numerous, they mounted six thousand horse, well dressed, well exercised, and moreover supported by a succour which seemed very well designed. Each horseman had a foot-soldier, which he had chosen himself, and who was attached to him. This body of light infantry accompanied the cavalry in battle, and served them for a rear-guard; where they found a retreat. If the action became dangerous, these footmen advanced, and took a share

in the battle; if any horseman was considerably wounded and fell from his horse, they gathered round to defend and support him; if speed was required, either to go before or to retreat, they were so light and so alert, that laying hold of the manes of the horses, they could run as fast as they.

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33.

When Cæsar saw that the Germans were obstinate in refusing battle, he thought he ought to secure the freedom of his convoys. With this view, he chose a place proper to form a camp six hundred paces beyond that of the enemy; whither he afterwards went with his whole army divided into three bodies, of which the two first had orders to keep under arms while the third intrenched themselves. Ariovistus sent fifteen thousand foot, and all his horse, to hinder this work; but he could not succeed, the camp was fortified; and Cæsar leaving two Legions there with a part of his Auxiliaries, carried the four other Legions back to his great camp.

The next day Cæsar drawing his troops out of both camps, according to custom offered the enemy battle. It was still to no purpose: but when he was retired, Ariovistus caused the little camp of the Romans to be attacked. Many were wounded on both sides, without any advantage that was decisive.

Cæsar was amazed that these fierce Germans would not accept the combat that had been so often proffered them. He was desirous to know the reason of it, and having interrogated some of the prisoners, he learned that this fiery and unruly people were curbed by their superstition. Certain women among them, pretended prophetesses, delivered oracles to them, which were received with great respect: and they had declared that they would not conquer if they fought before the new moon.

Cæsar thought, with reason, that this superstitious fear of the enemy was an advantage he ought to make the most of. Therefore the next day, after having left a sufficient guard in his two camps, he advanced with all his troops in three lines up to the camp of

the

A. R. 694. the Germans, as if he was going to assault it. The
 Ant. C. were forced to come out, and put themselves in order
 58. of battle, distributed by nations, encompassing their army with waggons, so that no one might have any hopes in flight. The women mounted on the waggons, weeping and tearing their hair, recommended themselves to the valour of their husbands, and conjured them not to suffer them to become slaves to the Romans.

Cæsar observed that the left wing of the enemy was the weakest; therefore he began the attack of that side: very likely, if I may be allowed to conjecture on such an account, because he judged if one of the two wings was once broken, it would not fail of carrying the defeat to the other. Both parties raged with such violence against one another, that the Romans had neither time or space to throw their javelins, but they came all at once to make use of their swords. The Germans, according to custom, covered themselves with their bucklers in tortoise. Cæsar reported that several of the Roman soldiers leaped upon this tortoise, and raising up the bucklers with their hands, pierced the enemy through and through that lay under them.

The left wing of the Germans could not hold it out long against Cæsar in person; but the right wing had the advantage. Young Crassus caused the third line or body of reserve of the Romans to advance, by which he made an end and compleated the victory. All the Germans took to flight, making towards the Rhine, which was fifty miles from the field of battle, and stopped not at all till they came thither. Some, a very small number, passed the river either by swimming, or, like Ariovistus himself, in little boats that they found on the banks of it. All the rest were cut to pieces by the cavalry of the victorious army. The two wives of Ariovistus perished in this flight; and of his two daughters he had, one was killed and the other taken prisoner.

Cæsar

Cæsar had the satisfaction to recover his two Deputies, Procillus and Mettius. He felicitates himself upon this in his Commentaries, in a manner that does honour to his humanity and generous disposition; and affirms, in precise terms, that the joy he had in saving Procillus, was not less than that of the victory. This young Gaul had been in extreme danger. Lots had been drawn three times to decide whether he should be burnt alive upon the spot, or reserved for another time, and three times the die favourable to him preserved his life.

Cæsar's victory over Ariovistus terrified the Suevi, who, as I have said, were approached to the banks of the Rhine. They retreated in disorder into their country; and the Ubii, who inhabited the country where Cologn has been since built, pursuing them, killed a great number of them.

Thus Cæsar, in one campaign, put an end to two great wars, and with so much speed, that he went into winter-quarters before the usual season. He distributed his army in the country of the Sequani, and left Labienus to command in his absence. He passed himself into Cisalpine Gaul, willing, as he says, to make a circuit there, and administer justice, according to the usage of the Roman Magistrates. But he was not less attentive to the affairs of the city. It is very probable that during this time, they negotiated with him, to no purpose, to obtain his consent to the recalling Cicero.

S E C T. III.

Cæsar's second campaign in Gaul. The confederation of the Belgæ against the Romans. Goes to his army, and arrives on the frontiers of the country of the Belgæ. The Remi make their submission to Cæsar, and inform him of the strength of the league, which consisted of above three hundred thousand fighting men. Cæsar goes to incamp on the other side the river Aisne. Several

CORNELIUS, CÆCILIUS, Consuls.

enterprizes of the Belgæ, all without success. They parate and retire every one to his own country. Cæsar pursues them, and kills a great number of them. He reduces to obedience those of Soissons, of Beauvais, and of Amiens. The pride of the Nervii. They prepare themselves to receive the Roman army. A bloody battle, wherein the Romans, after having been in very great danger, remain conquerors. Cæsar attacks the Aduatichi, who endeavour to defend themselves in their principal town. The surprize of the Aduatichi seeing the Roman machines. They surrender. The fraud followed with the worst success. The maritime coast of Celtica subdued by P. Crassus. Embassies from the German nations to Cæsar. Rejoicings ordered for fifteen days at Rome, on account of Cæsar's victory. Galba, Cæsar's Lieutenant, makes war during the winter, with some people of the Alps.

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57.

P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER.

Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

THE people of Gaul properly so called, or the Celtæ, seemed to be subdued, at least the greatest part of them, and disposed to wear the yoke of the Romans. It was not the same with the Belgæ, who till now had never suffered their liberty to be infringed. They were for the most part Germans originally, all proud, warlike, and accustomed to braveries, fatigues and dangers. Their natural bravery had not been softened by luxury, which they were strangers to. Of all the inhabitants of Gaul, they alone had preserved their country from the inundation of the Cimbri and Teutones; and this honour still raised their courage, and made them look upon themselves as invincible. Cæsar's conquests over the Helvetii and Ariovistus did not terrify them, but made them think it necessary to reunite their forces to oppose so formidable an enemy. Moreover, spurred on by the secret instigations of many among the Celtæ, who bore with impatience the dominion of the Romans,

bu

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but durst not declare themselves openly, they were at work during the whole winter, to form a league amongst themselves, and to put themselves in a condition, against spring, to have an army capable to revenge the loss of liberty in Gaul.

Cæsar learned the news of this while he was yet in Cisalpine Gaul. He levied two legions immediately, which he sent over the Alps, under the command of Q. Pedius. As for himself, as soon as there was forage in the countries, he went to his army; and having assured himself of the truth of the facts, he began his march at the end of twelve days, and in fifteen more arrived upon the frontiers of the country of the Belgæ.

There the Ambassadors of the Remi presented themselves to him, and declared to him, that their Nation entirely submitted to the orders of the Roman People. That they were the only Nation among the Belgæ, who would not enter into the confederation, nor take up arms; and that the rage of war had seized in such a manner on mens minds, that they could not bring back even those of the Soifsons, who were their allies, their brethren, governed by the same laws, and by the same magistrates. Cæsar asking them what were the forces of the Confederates, they told him that the * Bellovaci were the most powerful, and most numerous people of them all; that they were able to raise an hundred thousand armed men, and that they had promised sixty thousand. That the quota of those of Soifsons was fifty thousand men; and that their King Galba, who had a great reputation for justice and prudence, had the general command of the whole war. They numbered a great many other people, who possessed the country as far as the Rhine, the chief of which were † the Nervii, and the

* Those of Beauvais.

† The Nervii possessed the country between the Scheld and the Amblève. The chief cities attributed to them were Cambrai, Valenciennes and Tournay.

A. R. 695. * Aduatici. Some Germans also on this side the Rhine were entered into the league; and the number of all these troops together amounted to above three hundred thousand fighting men. We shall be the less surprized at this number, which seems prodigious, if we remember, that, at that time, every citizen was a soldier; and that neither letters nor arts exempted any but the Druids, from military duty.

Cæsar, well pleased with the obedience and submission of the Rhemi, nevertheless used the precaution to require hostages from them. At the same time he thought of making a diversion, that he might not be obliged to fight with this terrible multitude of the Belgæ all at once; and, to this end, he engaged Divitiacus to prevail upon the Edueni to enter with arms upon the lands of the Bellovaci, thus making use of one part of the Gauls to subdue the other.

He soon learnt that the army of the Belgæ advanced with great speed, and came towards him. He passed the river Aisne, to go himself to meet them, and encamped advantageously on a little hill, supporting one of his flanks by the right bank of the river. In this position he secured his rear, and made it easy to bring provisions from the Rhemi and the other people his Allies. There was a bridge over this river at some distance from the camp; at the head of which Cæsar placed a good guard, and caused a fort to be built on the other side, where he left Q. Titurius Sabinus, a Lieutenant-General, with six Cohorts.

The Belgæ finding the town of Bibrax [†] in their way, which was but eight miles from Cæsar's camp, and which belonged to the Rhemi, were going to assault it. But a succour Cæsar sent thither forced them to abandon their design, and they came and posted themselves within two thousand yards of the Romans.

* The people who inhabited the banks of the Meuse, about Namur, according to the opinion of several geographers.

† It is at this day a little place, which still preserves some marks of its antient name. It is called Bievre, between Pont à vere and Laon.

Their camp took up more than eight thousand in circumference.

Cæsar, at their approach, added new intrenchments to his camp, resolved to spin out the time a little, and try the enemy first in skirmishes. The success therein was so good, that he thought he might hazard a general action. He therefore left the two regiments he had newly raised to guard the camp, and went out with the six others, which he ranged in order of battle, not willing, however, to lose the advantageous ground, and without quitting the little hill upon which he was encamped. The Belgæ also set themselves in order of battle at the head of their camp : but there was a morass between the two armies, that either the one or the other would pass in sight of the enemy : therefore there was only a combat of the potse, in which the Romans had some superiority, after which Cæsar withdrew his troops into his camp,

The Belgæ saw that they were not able to do anything against Cæsar ; therefore they formed the design of fording the river, and going on the other side to attack the fort where Titurius commanded, to carry it if possible, and break down the bridge. Cæsar, having timely notice of this by his Lieutenant, decamped with all his cavalry, light-armed men and archers, passed the bridge, and arrived on the other side, while the enemy were embarrassed in passing the river ; and whatever efforts of bravery they made, even to the using the dead bodies of their fellow-soldiers to make a bridge to get over, he slew many of them, and forced the rest to retreat.

The Belgæ were disheartened, seeing they could succeed in nothing, on the other hand their provisions began to fail them ; lastly, the Bellovaci learnt, that an army of the Edueni, commanded by Divitiacus, was entered into their country. They held a Council, and the Bellovaci having declared, that they were resolved to go and defend their country, their example was followed by all the rest. It was agreed that the army should separate ; that each Nation should retire

A. R. 695. to their own country, and that as soon as one camp
Ant. C. 57. ton should be attacked, all the others should reas-
semble, to march to the succour of those who were in
danger.

This resolution, not well understood in itself, was very difficult to put in execution. They undertook to make their retreat in sight of the enemy, which is always very dangerous. This was proved by the Belgæ, and so much the more as they observed no order, every one striving to be first in the extremity. Haste they were in to get home: so that their departure was like a flight. They decamped at the fourth hour of the night; and Cæsar was immediately informed of it. Nevertheless, he did not presently make any motion, fearing an ambuscade. At the point of day, upon new advices that he received, which fully assured him, that the enemy was retreated, he detached all his horse, and afterwards three Legions under the command of Labienus, to pursue them. The Romans killed a great number, and without any danger, because only those who were attacked defended themselves. The others who were got before, instead of supporting their countrymen, seeing the danger from far, thought only how to get farther from it, by gaining their country. Thus the slaughter was very great all the day long. In the evening Labienus and the Roman cavalry returned to the camp, according to Cæsar's orders.

This General, always active, failed not to take advantage of the error committed by the enemy, separating their forces. He put himself on the march the next day, to enter into the country of the Soissans, and made such haste, that he arrived before the capital before even the troops of the country, who had quitted the army of the Belgæ. Those of Soissons submitted and were disarmed, Beauvais and Amiens followed the same example, and had the same fate.

The Nervii were not so tractable. Far from being disposed to surrender themselves, they taxed with cowardice those who had taken this shameful step, unworthy

worthy, according to them, the glory and name of the Belgæ. Proud and indocile, they had no taste of anything but arms, and even took pains to drive away every thing that might bring knowledge, or the love of pleasure among them. For this reason they would not suffer any merchants to enter their country, nor that any wine should be brought into it, which they very justly looked upon as capable by its sweetnes to soften their courage and weaken their virtue. After this it is not to be wondered at, that servitude should seem to them the height of ignominy. They inspired the Artesii and Veromandui, their neighbours, with the same sentiments, and these three people united prepared to receive the Roman army. They used the precaution to put in safety their wives, their old men, and their children, by withdrawing them to a place, into which the army could not penetrate on account of a morass that encompassed it.

When Cæsar came to them, he found them behind the Sambre, which in that place might have about three feet depth, and which was bordered by two hills, on the right and left. The army of the Nervii and of their allies did not appear at all, because they were all entirely in a wood, very thick, on the top of the little hill to the right of the river. Only some advanced guards of the cavalry shewed themselves at the foot of the little hill, that was naked, and lay open. The Roman cavalry, which marched at the head, perceiving this little body of the enemy, passed the river, and put them to flight; but as they stopped at the entrance of the wood, these same troops returning to the charge, and afterwards retreating, occasioned the battle to last for a considerable time: however, six Roman Legions arrived at the top of the hill to the left of the Sambre, and began to prepare a camp there.

The Nervii had been informed by deserters, that in the march every Legion was followed by its baggage; so that from the first to the last there was a very great interval, and that it would be easy to cope with

A. R. 695. one or two Legions before the other could come up to their assistance : but Cæsar, when he approached the enemy, had changed this order. Six Legions marched in a line, afterwards all the baggage of the army, and the march was closed by the two Legions levied the last. When the Nervii saw the first baggage, they concluded that was the proper time for the attack. They went out of the wood in good order, overthrew the Roman cavalry, passed the river, got up the little hill, where the six Legions were at work to fortify the camp, and all this was done with such vivacity, and such fury, that it caused a great consternation among the Romans.

Cæsar confesses that he could not find time to give all his orders, and to make all the necessary dispositions for a battle. Two things supplied these defects. One was the ability and good discipline of his soldiers who knew of themselves what ought to be done, without standing in need of being instructed in every particular when time pressed : the other was the precaution he had taken, to order his Lieutenant-Generals to remain each at the head of his Legion till the works of the camp were entirely finished. Thus every Legion had its Commander, who regulated their motions without waiting for those orders which their circumstances at that time would not allow them to take from their General. The soldiers and the officers had no even time to put on their helmets, nor to take the skins off their shields with which they covered them on a march. They ranged themselves under the first colours they perceived, for fear of losing time by every one's seeking for his own.

Cæsar found himself near the tenth Legion. He ran to it, and after having given the signal for fighting, and put things in order, he went to another place, where they were already engaged. Chance rather ruled in the different dispositions than the prudence or orders of the General. There were three distinct and separate battles formed ; two Legions were over-against the Artesii, whom they defeated,

and drove immediately to the other side the river; afterwards, having passed it themselves, they began the battle a-new, where the enemy had the advantage of the ground; but nevertheless they put them to flight, and penetrated into their camp, which they seized. Two other Legions repulsed the Veromandui, but did not entirely break them; and they fought on the banks of the river.

The Roman camp was thus left almost without defence, there remaining but two Legions in it. The Nervii fell upon them, and endeavoured to flank them where they lay most open. The two Legions fought with great bravery, but the parties being very unequal, they were extremely pressed. The Roman cavalry, which had been broken by the first shock of the enemy, returned to the camp, and finding the Nervii there, took to flight a second time. The servants of the army, who had seen the Arctii repulsed and vanquished, came out with a design to plunder; but were extremely surprized to see the enemy behind them, and ran away with all the speed they could: at the same time the cries of those were heard, who arrived with the baggage. The confusion and fright were so great, that some of the squadrons of the cavalry of Treves, who served as auxiliaries to the Romans, were seized with the panic, notwithstanding the bravery which that nation piqued themselves upon above all the other people of Gaul; and ran together as far as their own country, carrying thither an account that Cæsar's army was defeated.

At the instant of the greatest danger Cæsar arrived. He found the twelfth Legion crowded together in a heap, and almost in a desperate condition. Every Captain of one of the Cohorts that composed it was killed, and those of the others were, for the most part, either killed or wounded; and in particular the first Captain of the Legion, P. Sextius, a man of great courage, was reduced, by his wounds, to be hardly able to support himself. The soldiers fought very faintly, and were rather endeavouring to avoid the

strokes

A.R. 695. strokes of the enemy than to return them. Cæsar
 Ant. C. snatched a buckler from a foot-soldier, and ran to put
 57. himself at the head of the Legion. He called the Captains by their names, he exhorted the soldiers, and cried out to them to advance towards the enemy, and to widen their ranks a little, that they might more conveniently make use of their swords. The sight of the General re-animated their fainting spirits, and every one sought to deserve his praise by some noble action performed before his eyes.

The seventh Legion was not far off. Cæsar gave orders for it to approach, by little and little, to the twelfth, and to range itself in the same line, in order to extend the front, and by that means to put it out of the enemy's power to surround them.

The two Legions that were thought to be lost, now began to respire. But what redoubled their confidence was the arrival of two Legions, which marched in the train of the baggage. At the same time Labienus, who had taken the enemy's camp, perceiving from the top of the little hill, where he was, what passed in the Roman camp, detached the tenth Legion, which flew to the succour of its General. This reinforcement fully restored the courage of the twelfth and seventh Legions; and Cæsar saw several of them, who, being overcome with weariness and wounds, were lying on the ground, raise themselves up and support themselves upon their bucklers, to renew the fight. At length the Roman cavalry, willing to blot out the disgrace of their flight, returned to the charge, and attacked the enemy on every side.

They must needs have sunk under the weight of so many united efforts against them, had they not acted prodigies of valour. Cæsar saw, that after those of the first ranks were killed, the others not only stood firm, but advanced, and continued fighting over the bodies of their comrades. And the number of the dead was become so large, that they made heaps of them, and mounting thereon, as from an eminence,

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they threw their own darts, and what javelins of the A. R. 625.
Romans they had been able to lay hold on.

Ant. C.
574

In so obstinate a battle the whole nation was extirpated, insomuch that their old men and women, in sending to implore the clemency of Cæsar, to move his commiseration, declared to him, that of six hundred Senators, there remained but three ; and that of sixty thousand men capable of bearing arms, there were scarce five hundred preserved. Cæsar took pity on the deplorable remains of this brave People ; he placed them under his protection, and expressly forbad all their neighbours to do them any hurt. He had done them enough himself.

So terrible an example could not determine the Aduatichi voluntarily to submit to the law of the conqueror. This nation was a remnant of the Cimbri, who advancing towards the south, left their heavy baggage on this side the left bank of the Rhine with six thousand of their men to guard it. After the Cimbri and the Teutones had been defeated, and even destroyed by Marius, these six thousand men supported themselves by their valour in the midst of the neighbouring People, who attacked them ; and they must have greatly increased their number by their conquests, and by incorporating with them the vanquished People, since at the time that we are speaking of, that is to say, the forty-fourth year after the last victory of Marius, the Aduatichi were in a condition to furnish nine thousand fighting men for their contingent to the league of the Belgæ. When they understood that the Nervii were attacked, they put themselves on the march to come to their succour : but the battle being fought before their arrival, they returned precipitately into their own country, and having abandoned all the little forts and villages they had, they shut themselves up in their principal city, which some suppose to have been Namur. This town was well fortified, and they prepared themselves to make a vigorous defence,

They

A. R. 695.
Ant. C.
57.

They made some sallies at first, when the Roman army arrived before the place; but a good line of contravallation of twelve feet deep, fifteen thousand paces in circumference, and every where well fortified with redoubts, soon put it out of their power to do so any more. At the same time the Galleries were preparing to make the approaches, and Cæsar also ordered a tower to be built. The Aduatuci seeing from the top of their walls the men at work on this tower, at a considerable distance, made a scoff of the Romans; and asked them with insolence what use they pretended to make of a machine so far off; and whether such little men as they were (for, says Cæsar, the Gauls, who are all large, very much despised our small stature) could have arms long enough, and sufficient strength to place a tower of such enormous weight upon the walls of the town? But when they saw the tower move and approach towards them, this new and surprizing spectacle terrified them in such a manner, that they sent Deputies immediately to Cæsar, who told him, "that they could not doubt but that the Gods fought for the Romans, when they saw them advance such tall and weighty machines with so much ease and readiness. That they therefore yielded to him, and put their destiny in his hands. But that if he would use his wonted clemency, and preserve the Aduatic Nation, they begged he would not instantly disarm them; because they had need of their arms to defend themselves against their neighbours, who all envied them for their virtue. That they would rather chuse to be extirpated, if it must be so, by the Romans, than suffer all kinds of indignities and punishments from those of whom they thought themselves the masters." Cæsar promised them life and liberty, if they surrendered before the battering-rams had struck their walls: But he was inflexible upon the article of arms, which he would have absolutely delivered up to him, offering them only the safeguard that he had allowed the Nervii.

A. R. 695.
Ant. C.
37.

The Deputies re-entered the town, and afterwards returned to assure Cæsar of the submission of the inhabitants, who threw so great a quantity of arms into the fossé, that the heap reached up to the top of their walls; and then they opened their gates, and received the Romans. Towards the evening Cæsar, who did not at all mistrust them, suffered them to shut their gates, and make his troops go out of the town, lest they should insult or ill-use the inhabitants: but they had acted treacherously, and reserved about one-third part of their arms, and having others made rough and in haste, they turned out about midnight, and came to attack Cæsar's intrenchments at the place where they thought they could scale them the most easily. They hoped to have surprized the Romans; but were mistaken, for so good order was established in the camp of Cæsar, that in an instant, the signals being given with fire from one redoubt to another, the Romans were in a state of defence. The battle was furious. The Aduatichi mounted to the assault with incredible courage, which was heightened by their despair. At length, after having lost four thousand of their men, they were drove back into the town of which Cæsar the next day burst open the gates, without finding any resistance; and both men and booty were all sold. The number of prisoners, thus reduced to slavery, amounted to fifty-three thousand heads.

At the same time that Cæsar made war in person against the Belgæ, young Crassus, with one Legion, subdued all the maritime coast, from the mouth of the Seine to that of the Loire.

The report of these exploits was carried beyond the Rhine, and several German nations sent Ambassadors to make their submission to Cæsar. But as he was very desirous to hasten into Italy, he could not immediately give them audience, but put them off till next spring. He took only the time necessary to distribute his troops into winter-quarters, in the countries,

A. R. 695. tries of Chartres, Anjou, and Touraine, after which
 Ant. C. he went, according to custom, into Cisalpine Gaul.
 57.

The news of his victories was received with such applause at Rome, that thanksgivings to the Gods were ordered, the solemnity of which lasted for fifteen days: a number which exceeded what had been allowed to any General before him, even to Pompey himself. If Pompey was jealous of this, he did not let it appear. But it was great imprudence in him to suffer Cæsar to accustom himself to a superiority, from which it would be difficult to bring him down.

Cæs. de
B. G.
L. III.

Cæsar, at his going away for Italy, ordered Servius Galba, one of his Lieutenant-Generals, to go with the twelfth Legion into the country of the Nantuates*, the Sedunians, and the Veragrians, to secure the free passage of the Alps, which the Merchants were often-times obliged to purchase with money, and great dangers. Galba at first found but little difficulty in the execution of this order. Some slight battles, followed by the taking some castles, sufficed to reduce these people to give hostages, and make their submission. He therefore thought he might securely take up his winter-quarters in a country of which he was master; and having left two cohorts upon the territories of the Nantuates, he came with the remaining eight to settle himself at † Octodurum, a small village of the Veragrians, which the Dranse divides in two. He abandoned one of the two parts to the natives of the country, and began to intrench himself in the other.

His works were not quite finished before he heard, that all the country was risen in arms, and that he was going to be assailed by a cloud of mountaineers. He called a Council, and the danger appeared so great to some, that they were of opinion, that they ought to think only of a speedy retreat, leaving their baggage in the power of the enemy. The greatest number thought they ought not to have recourse to so despe-

* Upper and Lower Vallais,

† Martigny.

rate a resolution, but at the last extremity, and that they should begin to defend their intrenchments.

They had scarce time to make the necessary preparations, the enemy was approached so near. Thirty thousand mountaineers came to attack eight cohorts, which all together did not make above four thousand. In a number so unequal, the assailants had the advantage of constantly sending fresh troops; whereas the Romans, not only those that were fatigued, but even the wounded, could not take their necessary repose, because there wanted men to replace them.

The battle had lasted six hours, and the Gauls already began to break the palisades and fill up the fosses. In this extremity P. Sextius, that brave Captain, of whom mention has been made in the battle with the Nervii, and a military Tribune, named C. Volusenus, an excellent Officer, came to Galba, and represented to him, that it would not be possible to defend their lines, if they did not make a vigorous sally, that might give the enemy some trouble. This counsel was approved; Galba ordered the soldiers to take some little refreshment, contenting himself, in the mean time, to ward off the enemy's strokes, without returning any himself, when at a signal given the Romans rushed out at once from all their gates, and made so brisk a charge, that the mountaineers, who did not expect it, were absolutely put in disorder. It was not possible for them to reconnoitre their forces; but they were obliged to fly, leaving ten thousand of their men upon the place.

Galba nevertheless did not think it proper to expose himself to a second attack. He burnt all the houses in the little village of Octodurum, went over to the Nantuates to take his two cohorts again, and came to finish his winter-quarters in the Roman Province.

S E C T. IV.

Cæsar's secret motives for going to Italy in the winter. Ptolemy Auletes drove out of Egypt. Theophanes, the friend of Pompey, suspected to have engaged the King of Egypt to retire. Wholesome advice ineffectually given by Cato to Auletes. Auletes comes to Rome. His daughter Berenice is put upon the throne by the Alexandrians, and is first married to Seleucus Cybiosaltes, afterwards to Archelaus. The Ambassadors from the Alexandrians at Rome, assassinated, gained over, or intimidated by Ptolemy. The commission to re-establish the King of Egypt given to Spinther by the Senate, but sought for by Pompey. The pretended oracle of the Sybil, which forbade the entering into Egypt with an army. The intrigues of Pompey to procure the commission for re-establishing Auletes. The affair remains in suspense. Cicero carries a good face through the whole. Clodius being Ædile, accuses Milo before the People. Pompey pleading for Milo is insulted by Clodius. The answer of the Soothsayers applied by Clodius to Cicero, and retorted by Cicero on Clodius. Cicero takes away from the Capitol the tables of the laws of Clodius. A coolness, on this account, between Cicero and Cato. The singular situation of Pompey, the butt of all parties. He is hated by the common people. An object of jealousy to the zealous Republicans. Mis-trusts both Crassus and Cæsar. Some bold passages of Cicero against Cæsar. The uneasiness of Cæsar. A new Confederacy between Cæsar, Pompey and Crassus. Their interview. The numerous Court of Cæsar at Lucus. Cæsar complains of Cicero to Pompey. Reproaches made by Pompey to Cicero. Cicero resolves to support the interests of Cæsar. He makes an apology for this change. What were his real sentiments. Cicero gives his vote in the Senate for Cæsar's having the Government of the two Gauls. Piso recalled from Macedonia. Gabinius continues in Syria. Cicero employs

ploys himself much in pleading. The dispositions made by Pompey and Crassus to get the Consulship. Three of the Tribunes, in concert with Pompey, bind the election of the Magistrates. The ineffectual endeavours of the Consul Marcellinus, and the Senate, to overcome the obstinacy of the Tribunes. Clodius insults the Senate. The Consul would oblige Pompey and Crassus to explain themselves. Their answers. An universal consternation in Rome. The interregnum. Domitius alone persists in demanding the Consulship with Pompey and Crassus. He is removed out of the way by violence, and through the fear of death. Pompey and Crassus are named Consuls. They prevent Cato's obtaining the Praetorship, and cause Varinius to be preferred to him. Pompey presides at the election of Aediles. His robe is made bloody there. The Tribune Trebonius proposes a law to give the governments of Spain and Syria to the Consuls. The law passes in spight of the opposition of Cato and two of the Tribunes. Pompey gets Cæsar continued in the Government of Gaul for five years, notwithstanding the representation of Cato and Cicero. A new disposition introduced, by a law of Pompey, in the choice of Judges. A law against canvassing at elections. A scheme for a new sumptuary law. The luxury of the Romans. The theatre of Pompey. Games given to the People by Pompey, at the dedicating his theatre. The commiseration of the People for the elephants killed in these games. The province of Syria falls to Crassus, and that of Spain to Pompey, who governs by his Lieutenants. The extravagant joy, and chimerical projects of Crassus. The murmuring of the citizens against the war which Crassus was preparing to make with the Parthians. The dreadful ceremony made use of by one of the Tribunes to load him with imprecations. A pretended bad omen. Cauneas. Crassus before his departure reconciles himself to Cicero. Scaurus, Philippus, Marcellinus and Gabinius successively governors of Syria. Troubles excited in Judea by Alexander the son of Aristobulus. Gabinius settles matters there with great activity. He demands the honour of Supplications, which

CORNELIUS, CÆCILIUS, Consuls.

is refused him. Marc Anthony begins to signalize himself. His birth. The original cause of his hatred Cicero. Very debauched in his youth. He attach himself to Clodius, afterwards quits him to go in Greece. Gabinius gives him the command of the best in his army. He makes himself adored by the soldiers. His excessive liberality. Aristobulus, having saved himself at Rome, renewes the war in Judea, is vanquished and retaken. Gabinius leaves the war against the Arabs, to carry it on with the Parthians. Ptolomæus Auletes brings him back towards Egypt. Archelaus then reigned in Egypt with Berenice. Anthony, seconded by Hyrcanus and Antipater, forces the passages of Egypt, and takes Pelusium. The baseness and effeminacy of the Alexandrians. Archelaus is killed, and Ptolomæus re-established. New troubles in Judea. The death of Alexander the son of Aristobulus. Gabinius is obliged to yield the command of his army to Crassus. general disgust in the minds of men at Rome against Gabinius. The characters of the two Consuls. Gabinius returns to Rome. He is accused of the crime of public Lèse-Majesty, and acquitted. The public indignation against this infamous judgment. He is accused of extortion. Cicero pleads for him. Gabinius is condemned. Vatinius defended in like manner by Cicero, and acquitted. The great grief with which Cicero is touched, in being obliged to defend his enemies.

A.R. 695.

Ant. C.

57.

Cæs. de B.
G. III, 1.

P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER.

Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

THE motive which Cæsar assigns for his taking a journey in the winter, was the desire he had to visit Illyria, which made a part of his Government; and where he had not yet been; but secret reasons beyond comparison more interesting, carried him into Italy. He was willing to confer with his friends and creatures at Rome, and especially with Pompey and Crassus. Before we give an account of this interview, and these intrigues, we ought to speak here of what remains

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Ant. C.
57.

Dio, L.
xxxix.

Strabo,
L. xviii.
p. 797.

remains to be related of the events, and affairs of the city under the Consulship of Lentulus and Metellus Nepos.

An object which very much employed the public care, was the re-establishment of Ptolomy Auletes, King of Egypt. This Prince had been at enormous expences, and contracted very great debts to bring about his being acknowledged King, friend and ally of the Roman Empire; finding himself therefore quite drained, he loaded his people with exorbitant impositions, which rendered him odious to them. He was otherwise despised for his personal conduct, which discovered nothing but shameful debaucheries, accompanied by a meanness altogether unworthy of the royal dignity. Even the surname of Auletes, which signified "a player upon the flute," was a proof of it. He was passionately fond of this instrument, to such a degree that he established prizes to be contended for in his palace by the flute, and was not ashamed to enter the lists himself, and dispute them with other musicians. At last, when the Romans prepared to invade the isle of Cyprus, the indifference of Ptolomy with regard to this rich and antient appendage to the kingdom of Egypt, made an end of exasperating the whole nation against him. He did not think himself in safety, and therefore stealing away privately, he resolved to go to Rome to implore the succour of his patrons against his rebel subjects, by whom he said he was drove away and dethroned.

TImagenes, an historian famous for the licence of Plut. his pen, and his love of slander, has wrote, that it was Theophanes the Mitylenean, a friend and confident of Pompey, that engaged Auletes to quit Egypt, without any very great reason; and that the motive for such perfidious advice was to procure for Pompey an occasion to re-establish that Prince by a war, and that way to revive his military glory, and refresh his laurels, which began to fade. I make no difficulty of the blackness of this affair on the part of Theophanes, a man without honour, and sold in such a

A. R. 695. manner to Pompey, that with a design to make his
 Ant. C. court to him he had no fear; as I have said elsewhere
 57. to employ, in his works, the most atrocious calumni
 and grossest malice against the most virtuous of the
 Romans. Plutarch will not allow, that Pompey
 could be capable of an ambition so full of malignity
 and indecency. It is nevertheless very certain, that
 Ptolomy demanded to be re-established by him, and
 that Pompey, on his side, supported his demand, and
 strongly desired, though ineffectually, that it might
 succeed.

Plut. Cat. This fugitive King received very good advice upon
 the road, but knew not how to make his advantage of it. At his arrival at Rhodes, he met Cato, who was
 going to Cyprus. Ptolomy sent to salute him, reckoning he would come to see him; but Cato sent word to the King of Egypt had any occasion to speak with him, he might take the pains to come to him himself. He came, and when he entered, Cato did not rise to him, nor shew him any ceremony, only pointed with his hand to a seat for him to sit down. Ptolomy was extremely surprized to see himself treated with so much haughtiness, and especially by a man who in his outward appearance had nothing but what was plain and modest. Nevertheless he was not abashed, but talked to him of his affairs; when Cato represented to him, with an air of authority, that it was very unwise in him to quit a happy and splendid situation, to go and make himself a slave to the great men at Rome, to dance attendance oftentimes in the anti-chambers, and purchase the protection of covetous persons, who would not be satisfied with all Egypt when they had bought it, and that he would carry them the price of it. He exhorted him therefore to reconcile himself to his subjects, and even offered to accompany him, and become himself the mediator of the peace. Ptolomy, at this discourse, seemed like one just come out of a fit of drunkenness or madness. He saw clearly, and resolved to follow the advice that was given him; but some of his unfaithful, or at least

rath friends persuaded him to the contrary. When he was at Roine, and experienced the pride, the cruelty, the avidity of those to whom he was obliged to make his court, he repented, but too late, of having neglected such wholesome counsel, which then seemed to him not to come from a wise man, but to be the oracle of a God.

In the mean time the Alexandrians seeing themselves abandoned by their King, placed Berenice, his eldest daughter, upon the throne; for his two sons were yet very young, which made them prefer her. They afterwards sought a husband for this Princess, and cast their eyes on Seleucus surnamed Cybiosactes, brother of Antiochus the Asiatic, of the race of the Seleucides. Seleucus had a propensity to nothing but what was base. The surname which I have mentioned, which was given him in derision, signifies “a seller” * “or loader of fish.” He valued nothing but money, and his covetousnes carried him so far, that he stole the coffin of gold, that inclosed the corpse of Alexander, and substituted one of glass in its room. The Egyptians could not bear a King, nor Berenice an husband of such a character, therefore she caused the latter to be strangled. She afterwards married, as we shall relate hereafter, Archelaus Pontiff of Comana, son of the famous Archelaus, the General of Mithridates, first conquered by Sylla, and afterwards honoured by him with the title of ally of the Romans.

When the Alexandrians learnt that Ptolomy was at Rome, they sent thither a numerous embassy composed of an hundred Deputies, to defend themselves against the reproaches of their King, and to complain of his violences, and his injustice. Never had any embassy worse success. Auletes caused many of these Deputies to be assassinated on the road, others in Rome, some were gained over, and all the rest intimidated; so that the Senate would not so much as

* Κυβοσάκτης comes from κύβη, which signifies tunny prepared and salted, and σάκτη to load.

A. R. 695. have heard this embassy spoke of, if Favonius, who
 Ant. C. 57. in the absence of Cato endeavoured to supply his
 place, had not raised his voice against this multiplicity
 of attempts. The Senate ordered, that Dio, the
 chief of the embassy, an academic Philosopher, should
 be called and heard. But this Dio himself was soon
 after assassinated; and the money of Ptolomy, sup-
 ported by the power of Pompey, who lodged him in
 his own house, and openly protected him, almost en-
 tirely stifled this odious affair. Some Romans were
 brought to a trial, as having been concerned in the
 assassination of Dio; and this was one of the chief ar-
 ticles of the accusation against Cælius, whom Cicero
 defended the year following. Not only Cælius was
 absolved; but the greatest part of the rest, whom
 there was the most reason to believe culpable; so that
 it appeared, that the lamentable fate of these unhappy
 strangers without protection, was looked upon with
 great indifference at Rome.

Dio.

The commission for re-establishing Auletes, w^t
 what drew the greatest attention, as it was the mean
 of acquiring both money and honour. Lentulus
 Spinther, actually Consul, and who after his Consul-
 ship was to go and command in Cilicia and Cyprus
 had this employment given him by the Senate; and
 nothing could be more natural or more suitable. But
 Pompey had a mind to it, and he knew how to make
 the People grant him that which he could not obtain
 by the voice of the Senate. An incident happened at
 this time which no one could have expected.

The statue of Jupiter on mount Albanus having
 been struck by thunder, the books of the Sibyl were
 consulted thereupon, wherein this oracle was found
 "When the King of Egypt shall come to demand
 "succours of you, do not refuse him your friendship
 "but employ not a multitude of men to defend him
 "without which you will be exposed to many dangers
 "and to many evils." It was very plain that this
 pretended oracle was made for the purpose, and foisted
 into the Sibylline books, either equally to mortify
 Len-

Lentulus and Pompey, or to prevent the commission A. R. 695.
to re-establish Ptolomy, from becoming an apple of
Ant. C.
contention between them, which might perhaps disturb
57.
the Commonwealth. The stratagem had its effect,
and C. Cato, a Tribune of the People, who it is very
likely was in the plot, made so much noise about the
oracle, that they were obliged to submit to it, and ren-
ounce the design of entering into Egypt with an army.
While all this was in agitation, the new Consuls en-
tered upon their office.

CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS.

A. R. 696.

L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

Ant. C.

56.

The Consul L. Marcius was the second husband of
Atia, the niece of Cæsar and mother of Augustus.

The commission for re-establishing the King of Egypt, was much sunk in its value, since it excluded Cic. ad Fam. I. the command of an army which was destined for that work. Nevertheless such as it was, and in that strict condition, it did not cease to be the object of jealousy. Lentulus Spinther, to whom it had been given, desired ardently to keep it. Pompey continued to be ambitious of it; but, after his manner, concealing his game, pretended strongly, both in private conversations and in his speeches in full Senate, to favour Lentulus, while his friends in giving their votes, conferred that employment upon him himself, and whilst Ptolomy expended large sums to gain him Suffrages. Things were carried so far, that, as it plainly appeared that Pompey could not suceed by the Senate, the Tribune Caninius Gallus proposed to the People, that they should order him to be sent with no other train than two Lictors, with the commission to restore Ptolomy to his throne. At the same time, to augment the trouble, C. Cato, although at open war with Pompey, pushed his resentment against Lentulus so far, as to undertake to get him recalled, and have his government taken from him.

CORNELIUS, MARCIUS, Consuls.

A.R. 696. Neither of these projects came to any thing. The
 Ant. C. Senate affected to retain Pompey to his honour, a
 56. judging his presence necessary to secure the tranquillity
 and plenty of the city: and Pompey, who found so
 many difficulties in an affair, which at bottom was not
 worth his trouble, cooled upon it, and formed other
 schemes. As to Spinther, it was easy to put a stop to
 the fury of C. Cato against him, or at least to prevent
 its effects: But the result of all was, that the re-establishment of Auletes remained in suspense, and that
 Prince had time enough to grow weary of Ephesus, to
 which place he retired towards the end of the pre-
 ceding year.

Cicero in all these intrigues carried a good face. He openly supported the interests of Lentulus, to whom he was obliged on account of his being recalled; but kept fair with Pompey at the same time to whom the acknowledgment and care of his safety equally attached him. Placed between his two benefactors, he served one without shocking the other. The dissimulation of Pompey, who in his discourse was always favourable to Lentulus, made Cicero easy and left him at liberty to declare himself for him who had the greatest interest in the thing, and whose pretensions appeared the most just and reasonable.

Cic. ad Q. Fr. II. It is surprizing that Clodius should not be an actor in so turbulent a scene. The intended accusation
 z, & pro M. n. 40. against him by Milo, and his pursuit of the ædileship without doubt gave him sufficient employment; and
 Pio. as soon as he saw himself ædile, that is to say, in the middle of the month of January, he attacked Milo in his turn, and cited him before the people, accusing him of the same crime for which he himself was actually in the hands of justice. He pretended that Milo was guilty of violent attempts against the public tranquillity, whilst it was he himself whose criminal violences, threatening equally both the lives of his adversaries, and the repose of the city, had forced Milo to have recourse to a lawful and necessary defence. He did not hope to succeed in his accusation

know

A. R. 695.
Ant. C.
56.

knowing very well that Milo was supported by all the credit of Cicero and all the power of Pompey. But he rejoiced to be even with his enemy, and to insult his protectors. And, in short, it is hardly to be credited to what excess his insolence carried him upon this occasion.

Cic. ad Q.
Fr. II. 3.

Milo appeared before the People on the 2d and 6th of February; and on the last day Pompey pleaded for him: but while he was speaking, he was disturbed and interrupted a great number of times by the clamours, and even by the abuses and outrages poured out against him by the mob in Clodius's pay. Nevertheless he stood firm, and still preserving that gravity that became him, made an end of his pleading. Clodius then rose, as it seemed to answer him: but the party of Cicero and Milo repayed him in his own coin, and interrupted him by their cries; so that what passed had more the air of a mob of porters, than of a regular Assembly, called together to sit in judgment. In the midst of all this bustle, Clodius had prepared a kind of farce to insult Pompey. He was upon the Tribunal of Harangues, and from thence he demanded of the troop of his attendants about him, "Who it was that made the people die of hunger?" To which they answered, forming, as it were, a chorus, "That it was Pompey. Who is it would go to Alexandria? Pompey. Who would you have that employment given to? We would have it given to Crassus." Crassus was present, in no very favourable disposition towards Milo. Plutarch adds several other passages of this kind of comedy, which attacked Pompey in his personal conduct, and in his manners. This all ended in a battle between the two opposite parties. Clodius and Cicero each took to flight on their side.

I do not find in any author, what was the issue of this affair. It was spun out yet for several months, and it is very probable, was at last abandoned by the accuser.

The

A. R. 696.

Ant. C.

36.

Dio.

The hatred between Clodius and Cicero was so violent, that they let slip no occasion of shewing it. There happened towards the time we are now speaking of, some pretended prodigies, upon which the soothsayers were consulted. In their answer they undertook to assign the causes of the wrath of the Gods manifested by these prodigies; and among these causes they mentioned, "Sacred places turned to profane uses." Clodius laid hold on this, and, in an harangue to the People, made the application of it to the house of Cicero, consecrated, said he, by religious ceremonies to the Goddess of Liberty, and yet Cicero had re-established it, and made it a dwelling for himself.

The field of battle for Clodius was the assembly of the People, that of Cicero was the Senate. When therefore in that august company, the affair of the answer of the soothsayers came to be debated, our Orator refuted the harangue of his enemy by a discourse, which we have under the title *de Haruspiciis Responsis*. He did not content himself with proving that his house was free, and could not be looked upon as a religious place; but he returned upon Clodius some of those darts which that rash man had thrown at him. The answer of the soothsayers took in many things, and made mention in particular of "antient and occult sacrifices polluted and profaned." We cannot but see that Cicero must very readily perceive in these terms the crime committed by Clodius in the mysteries of the Good Goddess. He even applied to him all the other parts of the answer, accompanying his reasoning with most bitter invectives.

From words they both proceeded to deeds. Clodius came afresh to attack the workmen who were employed about Cicero's house, and undertook to destroy it before it was finished. But Milo, his perpetual antagonist, and his scourge, ran with his People armed, and repulsed the attack. Cicero, on his side, as well to revenge himself, as to annihilate the monuments of his banishment, and the Tribuneship of Clo-

Dio. &
Plut. Cic.
& Cat.

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Clodius, taking with him Milo and some of the Tribunes, ascended the Capitol, and would have torn down the tables on which were engraven the laws carried by his enemy. He could not succeed this first time, because Clodius, and his brother Caius, who was Praetor, prevented it. But some time after, taking advantage of the absence of Clodius, he returned to the charge, and bore off all the acts of this pernicious Tribuneship.

This affair had like to have embroiled him with Cato : For Cicero triumphed in his exploit, and to justify his conduct, he maintained that all that Clodius had done in his Tribuneship was void to all intents, because his introduction into the order of Plebeians, was done 'in contempt of the auspices, and of consequence was null. From hence it followed that Clodius not being a Plebeian, could not be a Tribune. Now if he was not legally a Tribune, all that he had done in that quality fell to the ground of itself. This reasoning was not without force, and regulated by justice might have had success. But as Cato had been sent into Cyprus by Clodius the Tribune, to attack the legitimacy of the Tribuneship of Clodius, was to attack the validity of all that Cato himself had done in Cyprus. Nevertheless he gloried in it, and for this reason was piqued at the discourse of Cicero, and maintained, that although it was true that Clodius had strangely abused his power, yet his power was legitimate. The contest became warm between Cicero and Cato, and occasioned some coolness in their friendship, but it went not far ; we do not find any footsteps of this quarrel in the works of Cicero.

All these movements were but like slight mists, which could not much influence the general system of public affairs : But another sort of tempest was preparing on the part of Pompey and Cæsar.

The situation of Pompey was at that time singular. Dio, & Plut. He found himself among all parties, almost equally odious to them all : so that he could not support himself by his own strength, by his creatures, nor by the men Pomp. Cic. ad Q. Fr. II. 1.

A. R. 66. men of arms who had served under him, and who
 Ant. C. were always ready to re-assemble at his orders: this
 56. without doubt, gave him a preponderating power,
 but could not entirely make him easy.

The common people hated him, as the enemy of Clodius, and the Protector of Milo. Moreover provisions, with the superintendance of which he had the charge, did not yet come in sufficient quantities to restore plenty in Rome. This, without doubt, was no fault of his. The barrenness of the lands, the draining the public Treasury, from whence very considerable sums had been taken to give to Cæsar, to Piso, and to Gabinus, were the true causes of the scarcity: But the People were untractable on account of the dearness of corn, and were always angry with those, who, by their office, had the care of providing it.

The chiefs of the Aristocratical party, Bibulus, Curio, Hortensius, M. Lucullus, the Consul Marcellinus, were not better disposed with regard to Pompey. His power, which crushed them, they looked upon as an intolerable tyranny. Their jealousy of him carried them far enough, as I have already observed in another place, to cherish and to care for Clodius, whom they all looked upon as a villain, but by whom they were pleased to see him they envied, mortified and humbled.

Pompey even mistrusted those with whom he was leagued to oppress the common liberty. He feared some secret ambuses from the side of Crassus, and explained himself thereon in full Senate: For the Tribune C. Cato having made an invective against him, Pompey answered him with vehemence, and named Crassus as the Protector of that insolent young man. He added, that he should keep himself more upon his guard than Scipio Africanus had done, who was assassinated by Carbo. He still opened himself more particularly to Cicero. He said that Crassus played booty with those who envied him, that is, the zealous Republicans, to support C. Cato, and that

A. R. 696.
Ant. C.
56.

he had furnished Clodius with money. Pompey took effectual measures to secure his life, and fortified himself with a number of soldiers, who, by his order, came from the countries in the neighbourhood, and placed themselves about him.

The rapid progress of the glory, and of the power of Cæsar gave Pompey another sort of uneasiness. He saw with grief that the exploits of Cæsar, great in themselves, and moreover heightened by the merit and charm of novelty, drew all men's attention to them, while he was eclipsed day by day, only supporting himself by the remembrance of his passed victories, the lustre of which diminished in proportion to the distance of time. Even the habit of seeing him constantly in Rome for a number of years, lessened, as is common, all esteem and admiration, whilst Cæsar Cic. ad being absent, his power grew to such a degree as to obtain from the Senate what it can hardly be believed he could formerly have carried by his seditious intrigues with the People. For the Senate had granted him considerable sums to pay his troops, and had chosen ten Commissioners to settle with him the state of his conquests : This was looked upon as a great honour done to the Generals, and was not commonly ordered till after the war was entirely finished.

Fam. I. 7.

It was not from his splendid victories alone that he gained to himself all this consideration and all this power ; but from his money and his management ; for while he seemed to be far off, making war with the Suevii and the Belgæ, he was in a manner, present in the middle of Rome, and giving motion to all their affairs. He raised there a power which rivalled that of Pompey, sending to Rome all the riches that he drew from the conquered countries, and distributing gold and silver, with profusion, to the Ediles, to the Prætors, to the Consuls, and to their wives, in such a manner as made him a prodigious number of creatures. Pompey saw all this, and was extremely chagrined ; he who from his youth had always been in possession of the first rank, to find him-

Plut. Cæs.

A. RV 696. himself in danger of being eclipsed and supplanted by a man, whose grandeur he looked upon as the work of his own hand.

I suspect that these secret dispositions of Pompey which were well known to Cicero, inspired our Orator with the boldness to venture at some daring stroke against Cæsar, which he made at the time we are speaking of. P. Sextius, one of the Tribunes, who had laboured for his being recalled, was accused this year on account of violences committed by him, as was said, during his Tribuneship. Cicero defended him, and shewed his acknowledgment to a man to whom he really owed much, but who, by his ill humour, had given him a good deal of reason to be dissatisfied with him. In this case, Vatinus, who having been Tribune while Cæsar was Consul, had served him in all his unjust and ambitious enterprizes, appeared as an evidence against the accused. There was between him and Cicero a sharp altercation, in which Vatinus reproached Cicero, that the prosperity of Cæsar had reconciled him to that happy General. Cicero replied, that he should prefer the lot of Bibulus, all humbled as he appeared, to all the victories and all the triumphs of his adversaries; and he said, on another occasion, that those who had driven him from his house were the same who had hindered Bibulus from going out of his. This was very plainly aimed at Cæsar. All the discourse that he pronounced against Vatinus, and which we have, is in the same stile. It is from one end to the other a very strong censure on the Tribuneship of Vatinus, and a counter-blow to the Consulship of Cæsar.

Cicero did more. In an assembly of the Senate, which was held on the 5th of April, Pompey having demanded money to buy corn, forty millions of * sesterces were granted him. From whence an occasion was taken to speak of the exhausting the public treasure, and of the means of restoring it. When Cicero started a proposition, which had been made, without

* About 250,000 £. sterling.

effect,

affect, four months before by the Tribune P. Rutilius Ar R. 456.
Lupus, he was of opinion, that the Senate should Ant. G.
deliberate, on the 5th of May following, what was
convenient to be done with respect to the territory of
Capua, which had been divided among twenty thou-
sand citizens by the law of Cæsar; and a Senatus-
consultum was made agreeable to this advice; which
was to cut Cæsar to the quick, for he had nothing
more at heart than the preservation of the acts of his
Consulship.

This decree very much disturbed Cæsar's repose; and there was yet another subject of great uneasiness preparing for him. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus was to demand the Consulship for the following year, which, according to all rules, could not be refused to a man of his name and rank, who, as Cicero expresses it*, was destined to be Consul for as many years as he could reckon from the time of his birth. Now Suet. Cæf. Domitius was a declared enemy of Cæsar, and said c. 24. loudly, that what he had not been able to do when Prætor, he would execute in his Consulship, and that he would take away the government of the Gauls from Cæsar.

Thus Cæsar fearing, that the opportunity of ac- Plur. Cæf.
quiring glory should be taken from him; and Pompey & Pomp.
passionately desiring to renew and augment his, which & Crass.
began to languish, their mutual wants re-united them & Cat.
more strictly than ever, and fastened afresh the band Dio.
of their friendship, or rather of their conspiracy. The concurrence of Crassus, whose power was very great in Rome, was necessary to them, and he himself, although the oldest of the three, was not less sensible of ambition. The trophies of Cæsar gave him jealousy, and he was desirous to equal his rivals in the glory of arms.

They were therefore to concert a plan among them that might be agreeable to all. They divided the

* Qui tot annos, quot habet, designatus Consul fuerit. Cic. ad Att. IV. 8.

A. R. 696. Empire almost as if it had been their patrimony. Ant. C. 56. It was agreed that Pompey and Crassus together should demand a second Consulship, to exclude Domitius and that, when they should be Consuls, they would prolong Cæsar's command in the Gauls for five years, besides the five that had been already given him by the law of Vatinius; and that they would themselves take the departments and provinces that should be the most convenient for them for the same number of years. This negotiation was so important, that it could not be trusted to Mediators. They were willing to see one another; and as it was not permitted to Cæsar to go out of the bounds of his province, Crassus came to meet him at Ravenna, and Pompey saw him at Lucus, in his way to Africa, whither he went to get corn together, to relieve the wants of the City of Rome.

Appian.
Civil. L.
II.

During the stay that Cæsar made at Lucus, he had so numerous a Court, that it might be said that the Romans went beforehand to acknowledge their future master. The number of magistrates, or illustrious persons invested with some command, that came to attend him, was so great, that there were reckoned an hundred and twenty Lictors at his gate. Besides Pompey, there were seen there Q. Metellus Nepos, Proconsul of Spain, Ap. Claudius, Proprætor of Sardinia, and two hundred Senators.

Cic. ad
Fam. I. 9. In the interview between Cæsar and Crassus, and afterwards between him and Pompey, there was much talk of Cicero. Crassus, who had never loved him, incensed Cæsar against him; and when Cæsar saw Pompey at Lucus, he made strong complaints of Cicero's rude attempts against the acts of his Consulship. Pompey had never opened his mouth to complain of this, while the thing passed, without doubt, because he was not then in perfect amity with Cæsar. But when his treaty was concluded, he interested himself in this quarrel; and meeting, in Sardinia, where he put in before he went to Africa, Q. Cicero, whom he had made one of his Lieutenants, he spoke to him

A.R. 696.
Ant. C.
36.

in these terms : " If you do not persuade your brother to change his stile, I must complain to you of the non-performance of those promises for which you passed your word." He called to mind the remembrance of what passed between them in the negotiation for recalling Cicero, one of the conditions of which was, that he should never attack the acts of Cæsar's Consulship. He even pretended that Cæsar well deserved this acknowledgment from Cicero, to whose return he had not only consented, but even lent his assistance. " If your brother," added he in the conclusion, " will not or cannot support the interests of Cæsar, at least let him not shew himself his enemy. Pompey had this so much at heart, that, not content with this strong representation, he dispatched an express to Cicero, earnestly to pray him not to undertake any thing new against the territory of Capua, till his return from Africa.

These complaints made a terrible impression upon Cicero. He saw himself little agreeable to the Aristocratical party, who, according to him, were stung with jealousy, and who had been willing to recall him, but were not pleased that he should be re-established in such splendor as to give them umbrage. Their alliance with Clodius, his mortal enemy, entirely detached him from them. If therefore he could not preserve the friendship of Pompey, he would have been exposed to new dangers with less succour than he had before. To please Pompey, it was quite necessary to be the friend of Cæsar. This he resolved upon; and from that moment, to the great discontent of the zealous Republicans, he praised Cæsar, and took his part on all occasions.

He took care to justify himself upon this change, a long and fine letter to Lentulus Spinther, who shewed his surprize at it. He maintained, that circumstances were altered ; that the concert of the good men, so necessary to resist the bad, no longer existed ; that the Aristocratical principles, by which they governed themselves under his Consulship, and

A. R. 69⁶. under that of Spinther, were now hardly followed
 Ant. C.
 56. any body. He added, that the principal authority
 the State was not invaded by villains, in which case
 they ought to have fought to the last extremity; but
 was in the hands of persons greatly to be admired
 Pompey and Cæsar. And besides this, he concluded
 that it is proper to conform to the times. "For
 said he *," able politicians have never laid it down
 as a rule to attach themselves invariably to the same
 way of thinking. In navigation, the art teaches men
 to yield to the storm, when by this new manner
 working the ship, they cannot reach their port; but
 if it may be done by the help of this change,
 would be folly to keep on with danger in the route
 one had taken, without going into another that might
 sooner conduct one to the end proposed. It is
 same with respect to the administration of public
 fairs; and to reach the point we propose to ourselves
 which is tranquillity accompanied by honour and
 dignity, we ought not always to speak the same lan
 guage, although we ought always to keep the same
 point in view."

Thus Cicero spoke to Lentulus, whom he knew
 to be an enemy to the Triumviral power, and who
 he would have been glad to have satisfied with spec
 ious reasonings. But when he opened his heart to
 Atticus, no longer going about to put a gloss upon
 his conduct, but in representing that humiliation he
 had suffered, it was with such bitterness of grief, as could
 but move compassion. "How happy are you †,

* Nunquam enim præstantibus in Republicā gubernandā virtus
 data est in una sententiā perpetua permanēt. Sed ut in naviga
 tempestate obsequi artis est, etiam si portum tenere non quæsas: q
 uod id possis mutatā velificatione, stultum est eum tenere cum
 culo cursum quem ceperis, potius quam eo commutato, quo
 tandem pervenire: sic quum omnibus in administrandā Repub
 licam propositum esse debeat cum dignitate otium, non idem semper di
 sed idem semper spectare debemus. Crc. ad Fam. I. 9.

† Tu quidem nullam habes propriam servitutem: communis
 eris nomine. Ego verò, qui, si loquor quod oportet, insanus; si

* The text is corrupted here, as Manucius has observed. The sense is
 no other than as I have expressed it in my version.

A. R. 696.
Ant. C.
56.

he to this faithful friend, in the honest but moderate condition in which you live! You have no personal servitude, and of that which is common, you only have your share with all others. As for myself, if I vote in the public affairs as I ought, I am a madman that should destroy myself; if I speak as is convenient for my interest, I am a slave, that villifies myself; if I keep silent, I own my condition of oppression and captivity. What therefore must be my grief? It must be what I really feel; and the sense of it is so much the more lively in me, as I cannot even give way to it, without seeming ungrateful to Pompey, to whom I owe every thing—What resolution can I take? To draw myself out of my situation the best way I can, and praise those to whom I am attached by necessity? I cannot do it; and I commend the poet * Philoxenus, who chose rather to be sent back again to prison than praise the verses of the Tyrant, who had first put him there.” The passage was as follows:

† Philoxenus shone in the Court of Dionysius the Elder, by the glory of his poetry. The Tyrant, who

opus est, servus existimor; si taceo, oppressus & captus; quo dolore esse debo? Quo sum scilicet: hoc etiam acriore, quod ne dolore quidem possum, ut non ingratus videar.—Reliqui est, Σπουτανάξες τίτανος χειρος. Non mehercule possum; & Philoxeno ignosco, qui reduci in carcerem maluit. CIC. ad Att. IV. 6.

* This example of the poet Philoxenus, is to be found in the Ancient History; but for the sake of those who do not call it to mind, I was willing not to omit it, and so much the less, as the lovers of Latin cannot but be pleased that I give them here the same passage, related with exquisite grace by one of the most illustrious of my brethren, in a discourse pronounced and made public many years ago.

† Qum Philoxenus in aulâ Dionysii floreret gloriâ poëeos, tyranni iussu, cuius inficta aliquot carmina minus probaverat, in Latomias conjectus est. Quippe superbum quiddam ac tumidum est rex malus & malus poëta. Postridiè tamen multis multorum precibus eductus è carcere & in gratiam receptus, ad cænam etiam vocatur. Splendebat apparatus lato convivium, & liberalioribus poculis invitata hilaritas impune fese efferebat. Ecce repentinum periculum & proposit mors. incaluerat vino Dionysius. Ergo ad delicias suas revolutus, ebullire caput versiculos aliquot rancidulos, in quos ingenii male feracis omnes illepidas veneres ex industria contulerat. Hoc ipse delicatissimâ voce affectu tenerimmo dum propinat convivarum auribus, operæ pretium erat videre inter ceteros certamen miserae approbationis, arectos vulnas, languidas cervices, defixos quasi stupore oculos, nutus, gestus,

A. R. 696. valued himself, though very unjustly, on the same ta-
 Ant. C. 56. lent, having shewn him some bad verses of his com-
 position, Philoxenus was not afraid to disapprove
 them, and, as a punishment for his freedom, was
 immediately sent away to the quarries, which was the
 name of the prison of the Syracusians; for nothing can
 equal the pride of a bad Prince, who is at the same
 time a bad poet. Nevertheless, at the request of
 the Courtiers, who interested themselves very warmly
 in the misfortune of Philoxenus, Dionysius set him at
 liberty the next day, restored him to his favour, and
 even admitted him to his table. The repast was
 sumptuous, and joy, animated by good cheer, shewed
 itself in all the guests: when on a sudden an unfortu-
 nate danger seized them with a chilling dread, and
 present death was offered to their sight. Dionysius
 warmed with wine, returned to the object of his
 dearest delight; and with a tone of complaisance and
 an air of affection, began to recite a long train of his
 verses, chusing, to regale the company, the most ex-
 quisite morsels, in which his barren fecundity had
 lavished, without taste and without genius, all that
 he took to be graces. At each verse he pronounced
 all the guests were exhausting themselves in encomi-
 ums, and disputed with one another the shame of ap-
 plauding him in the most extravagant manner. At-
 tention was painted on all their faces, in their atti-
 tudes, in their whole persons; their eyes were fixed
 on their looks, their gestures, their murmurs, their leaden
 motions, all declared their raptures. All was admira-
 tion, all was flattery. Philoxenus, but just freed
 from the weight of his fetters, saw all these transpor-

sufurros, arrisus, adulacione mollissimâ delibutos. Aderat vix dum
 deterso squallore carceris Philoxenus, & inter calentes gratulationes
 ceteros unus omnium prope frigidus obtorpuerat. A quo laudatione
 aliquid elicere Dionysius quum misere cuperet, interrogavit quidnam
 sentiret. Ille Dionysio nihil: sed ad custodes, qui circumfeterantem
 conversus, "Vos vero," inquit, "reducite me in Latomias." Movet
 vel ipsi tyranno risum improvisa festivitas; & invisa quoque libera-
 tis mucronem ipsa joci elegantia retudit. Oratio de legitimâ Lauda-
 tione, à M. Carolo le Beau.

with

without bearing any part in them ; but an immoveable spectator of the scene, in the middle of so many adul-
A. R. 696.
tors, he only preserved a profound silence. Diony-
Ant. C.
sus, who earnestly desired his suffrage, because he
knew the value of it, pressed him to explain himself.
Philoxenus, without answering him one word, addressed
himself to the guards that were about the table, " Let
them carry me back," said he, " to the quarries." The finesse of this pleasantry made the Tyrant him-
self smile, who did not expect it ; and the wit of it
took off the edge of that freedom, which of itself was
but too likely to have given offence.

We therefore see Cicero in the condition of those, who having superior knowledge, have not courage enough to make use of it. He could not blind himself with respect to what was his duty, nor get the better of himself enough to follow it. He was in perpetual contradiction to himself, condemning all the steps he took, and yet drawn on by a timidity that he could not overcome. Thus almost at the same time that he complained to Atticus, with the deepest grief, of the slavery under which he groaned, he voted in the Senate in favour of him who was the principal cause of it, that is to say, of Cæsar.

For the Consul Marcellinus, a very generous man, and full of the Republican spirit, seconded by his Colleague, or at least not finding an obstacle in him, notwithstanding the ties that united Marcius to Cæsar; Marcellinus, I say, had proposed to the Senate to deliberate on the departments that should be agreed on to appoint for the Consuls ; and the choice was to turn upon the four provinces, that is to say, the two Gauls, Cisalpine and Transalpine, held together by Cæsar, but which till then had always been two separate governments : Macedonia possessed by Piso, and Syria by Gabinius. He gave his advice for taking away the two Gauls from Cæsar ; and would at most have but left him one of them. Cicero, in a discourse which we have under the title *de Provinciis Consularibus*, refutes these sentiments. He would have Cæsar main-
tained

A. R. 69⁶, tained in the administration of both the Gauls, that is
Ant. C.
56. to say, that those forces should be left in his hands,
which he wanted to subdue both the Senate and the
Commonwealth.

He supported his advice by prodigious encomiums on Cæsar's exploits, which in truth could not be sufficiently praised. I shall relate here only one passage extremely fine. "Nature *," says he, has given the Alps for the rampart of Italy; and it is a special benefit of Providence to our City. If that fierce and innumerable nation of the Gauls had had a free entrance into the countries we inhabit, Rome could never have become the seat of universal Empire. But now we might consent, without fear, that the Alps might lower their summits, and put themselves on the level with our plains. For beyond the mountains to the Ocean, there is nothing that can give any disturbance to Italy."

The advice of Cicero was followed, to his great regret. Nobody would have been better pleased, if it had been possible for the Senate to have taken a contrary resolution.

It would at least have been some consolation to him if they had recalled Piso and Gabinius, his declared enemies, with whom he kept no measures. His desires herein were just; it was not only to satisfy his revenge, but the good of the Commonwealth required that men so perfectly vicious should be deprived of the power they had procured only by their guilt and which they made use of only to commit fresh crimes.

Piso in particular could atone for his vices by no one virtue. Cruel to his friends, and cowardly against his enemies, he had succeeded so ill in some little

* Alpibus Italiam munierat ante natura, non sine aliquo divino
mine. Nam si ille aditus Gallorum immanitati multitudinique pat-
isset, nunquam haec urbs summo imperio domicilium ac sedem pra-
buisset. Quæ jam licet confidant. Nihil est enim ultra illam altitu-
dinem moutium usque ad oceanum, quod sit Italæ pertimescedum.
Cic. de Prov. Conf. n. 34.

CORNELIUS, MARCHUS, Consuls.

24

wars he had improperly attempted against the barbarous nations, neighbours to Macedonia, that he dared not even write to Rome to demand the most common honours.

A. R. 696.
Ant. C.
56.

Gabinius, given up to his vices, had at least courage. We shall have occasion to give an account of his successes elsewhere. But he was so decried, and so hated, that having wrote to the Senate to demand the honour of the supplications or thanksgivings to the Gods, it was refused him; of this there is but one single example * of the like in all the Roman History. It was a great pleasure to Cicero, that this affront was put upon his enemy in his absence; for he was not in Rome when the Senate treated Gabinius so ignominiously.

Cic. ad Q.
Fr. II. 8.

It is very probable that the Senate would also have displaced him, if they had had it in their power; but Pompey openly protected his creature. Thus the In Pif. desires of Cicero were but half accomplished. Piso n. 88. only was obliged to quit his government, and return to Rome the year following. Gabinius kept his command still another year.

In all the rest of the movements in the year we are upon, which were very sharp, Cicero appeared no more. He had too much modesty to support the violent enterprizes of Pompey, of which we are going to give an account, and too much weakness to oppose them. The bar employed him chiefly, and gave him one part of that reputation which he lost in other places. I have already spoken of his pleadings for Sextius, whose services had contributed to his being recalled from his exile, and for Cælius, a young man of great hopes, if he had had sufficient talents, and that good conduct which was yet more necessary. Cicero this year still defended L. Cornelius Balbus, with whom they contested the quality of Roman citizen, which he held from Pompey, being born at

* This one example is that of Albucius, of which mention is made in a preceding Volume.

CORNELIUS, MARCIUS, Consuls.

A. R. 696. Cadiz in Spain. He pleaded this cause with Crassus, and even with Pompey himself; and the last is praised in an oration of Cicero's in the most magnificent manner in the world. But if I should dwell upon this, I fear I should wander too far from my subject.

*Ant. C.
56.*

Plut. Cras.
& Cat.
Dio. I.
xxxix.

Pompey and Crassus had agreed with Cæsar, according to what I have related, to demand the Consulship. They for a long time, made a Mystery of their Project, not doubting but they should meet with great opposition. It was therefore at first unknown to the Public. Only it was thought, that it could be for no good design, that they were thus seen concerted together. With the views of better concealing their play, they even let the time pass prescribed by the law to put themselves in the number of the Candidates. Their scheme was to let the year be run out without an election, that Marcellinus might have time to go out of his office. This Consul had shewn himself so zealous and intrepid a defender of the public liberty, and so warm an enemy to the triumviral league, that they could not hope to get themselves named for Consuls in the Assemblies where he presided. His Colleague Marcius would have followed the same steps, if he had not been too easy, and little capable of himself to form a strong Resolution: But he had Cato for his Son-in law; and Cato, respected by Marcellinus for his virtue, beloved by Marcius in consequence of so strict an alliance, governed in some sort all the Consulship.

There was no way to hinder the Elections, but the opposition of some Tribune. For this C. Cato was very ready to offer his ministry to Pompey and Crassus. This young rash man had at first taken the side against Pompey, as we have seen in the affair of re-establishing Ptolomy Auletes. He afterwards proposed a law to recall Lentulus Spinther, and take from him the government of Cilicia. He would also have got some others to have passed, the purport of which are not precisely known to us; but which very much displeased the defenders of the Aristocracy. Marcellinus

nus stopped him quite short, by not leaving one day free to convoke the Assemblies of the People. The means he employed was very likely to convert all the days into holidays on which these Assemblies could be lawfully held. This contest between Marcellinus and C. Cato, disposed the latter to enter into the designs of the Triumvirs; and supported, as it seems, by two of his Colleagues Procilius and Suffenus, he turned the tables upon the Consul, by opposing every Assembly wherein the election of Magistrates was to be proposed.

Every thing remained suspended, and undoubtedly men began to see to what these delays tended. The Senate, on the proposition of the Consul Marcellinus, put on mourning as in a time of public calamity, and all the members of that august body, the Consul at their head, came and presented themselves before the Assembly of the People, with every mark of profound sorrow, to endeavour to move the multitude, and to overcome the obstinacy of the Tribunes. All this solemnity had no effect. The Tribunes, without dreading the indignation that such a spectacle might excite against them, continued inflexible; and Marcellinus having vehemently inveighed against the enormous power of Pompey, who would bring the Commonwealth into slavery, the People answered his discourse by fruitless acclamations. "Shew, by your cries," said the Consul to them, "shew your sentiments, whilst "yet you may; ere long you will not have even this "liberty."

It was worthy of Clodius to insult the affliction of the Senate. This madman, after the Senators, with grief and confusion, were returned to the palace, mounted the Tribunal of Harangues, with the ornaments of his office, for he was *AEdile*, and being willing to regain the affection of Pompey, whom he had

* *Acclamate, Quirites, acclamate, dum licet, Jam enim vobis impunè facere non licebit.* VAL. MAX. vi. 2,

not

CORNELIUS, MARCIUS, Consuls.

A. R. 696. not ceased to harass and outrage for two years together, he declaimed against Marcellinus, and against Ant. C. 36. the other zealous Republicans, whose interests he had for the same time affected to support. Not content with abusing the absent Senate, he was desirous of giving them proofs of his rage, by presenting himself at the gates of the palace; where he was repulsed, and in an instant a body of horsemen having surrounded him, he was going to be cut in pieces, if the People had not rose in his favour, and threatened to set fire to the palace where the Senate was assembled.

In the midst of all these terrible disorders Pompey appeared quite tranquil, as if the affair did not relate to him, and did not discover himself. Marcellinus undertook either to unmask him, or perhaps even to make him abandon, through shame, a project which put all the city in combustion. He therefore interrogated him in full Senate upon his intentions, and demanded to know if he had thoughts to put himself among the candidates for the Consulship? Pompey must not have attended to the question, for his answer was very bad. He said, perhaps, he might demand the Consulship, perhaps he might not. The Consul insisted upon it, and would have a more precise answer. "I should have no need of the Consulship," replied Pompey, "if I considered only the good Citizens; but the bad and the turbulent put me under the necessity of desiring it." This language seemed arrogant, and displeased. Crassus, interrogated upon the same, answered more modestly, that he should demand the Consulship if the necessities of the Commonwealth seemed to exact it. Marcellinus fell upon Pompey in his usual way, and drew upon himself an answer that was rude and insolent. "Thou makest a very bad acknowledgment," said Pompey, "of all the services I have done thee. Thou oughtest to remember, that through my means from a mute thou art become eloquent; and from a starveling,

" art

"* art, wont to get drunk every day." I do not relate this passage, as it very much deserves to be preserved of itself, but to shew how little decency the great men of Rome observed when they contended with one another. The invectives which astonish, and often shock us in the discourses of Cicero against his enemies, was the ordinary stile of their quarrels.

A. R. 696.
Ant. C.
56.

From this day the Consul and the Senate discouraged, did not any more attempt a vain resistance. Those who had aspired at the Consulship desisted, and Pompey remained master of the field of battle; but with all the signs of an universal consternation. In the Assemblies of the Senate, in the publick ceremonies of religion, where the Magistrates were to assist, there reigned in all a sorrowful solitude. They fought no more because they were overpowered; but it was plainly to be seen how much the oppression and the oppressors were detested. Thus passed the remainder of the year.

THE INTERREGNUM.

POMPEY and Crassus having brought affairs to the point they wished, did not blush at their unworthy victory; but thought, on the contrary, how to make the most of it. On the last day of the preceding December all the Magistrates, except the Tribunes of the People, went out of their employments. It was the custom when the Commonwealth found itself thus without a Chief, for the Patricians to assemble together, and choose among themselves a Magistrate, whose authority was to last for five days, and whom they called an Interrex. At the end of these five days, they gave him a Successor, and then another, till the election of the Consuls. As soon as the Consuls were named, they were in possession of the

A. R. 697.
Ant. C.
55.

* The original term is yet stronger; and means the vomiting, which is the consequence of intemperance and drunkenness.

A. R. 697. Government, and presided at the elections of the other
Ant. C. Magistrates, Prætors, Ædiles, Quæstors. Pompey
55. and Crassus then made their declaration to the Interrex,
that they should demand the Consulship.

I have said that the other candidates desisted; but L. Domitius must be excepted, who without fearing these redoubtable rivals, or even the new reinforcement of Cæsar's soldiers, who had been sent for to support them, dared enter the lists against them, and maintained the fight to the last. He piqued himself upon his constancy, and moreover was greatly encouraged by Cato, whose sister Porcia, both by father and mother, he had married. Cato made it a point to push on his enterprize, by representing to him, that he acted here not only in pursuit of the Consulship, but of the liberty of the Romans. This generous resolution drew to Domitius the favour of all good Citizens, and even of those whose views, without being much elevated or very extensive, were nevertheless just and honest. They asked one another with surprise: "What need Pompey and Crassus had for a second Consulship? Why must they be once again Consuls together? Is there then no other Citizen worthy to be the Colleague of Pompey or Crassus?" Besides those who declared themselves thus in discourse, it was hoped, that there were many others who kept silence, that would favour Domitius when the time of election came. The suffrages were given by ballot, and this secret way was the most proper to embolden those who did not dare to shew openly what they thought.

Pompey and Crassus were really afraid; and, to deliver themselves from all uncertainty of success, they had recourse to violence. When Domitius, accompanied by Cato, went before day to the Campus Martius to solicit votes, he fell into an ambuscade, prepared by his rivals. The slave who carried the flambeau before him was killed, and Cato wounded in the arm. Nevertheless this intrepid man, who never feared any danger, was determined not to yield, and exhorted

horted Domitius to fight it out with his last breath for liberty against the tyrant. Domitius more timid, or more prudent, judged it not proper to go any farther, but retired into his house. It was by this train of violences and intrigues, that Pompey and Crassus obtained the second Consulship, the consequences of which could not but be fatal, as the means by which they acquired it were odious.

C. POMPEIUS MAGNUS II.

M. LICINIUS CRASSUS II.

The first care that necessarily employed the new Consuls, was that of creating the other Magistrates. According to order they were to begin with the election of Praetors. This was an affair of no little difficulty to them; but they succeeded in it according to custom, by trampling under foot law, justice, and shame.

Cato, whom nothing awed when the defence of the common cause was in question, not having been able to succeed in making Domitius Consul, demanded himself the Praetorship, that this employment might serve him as a place of arms against the Consuls, and that he might not be obliged as a private man only to resist the sovereign Magistrates. The Consuls did not doubt but that the Praetorship, in the hands of Cato, would become a rival to the Consulate, and therefore they resolved to drive him from it at what price soever it might be. Canvassing the most outrageous and the most shameful, distributions of money made openly to purchase votes, were all ways that seemed good to them. And to assure those of impunity who got to be named by these unworthy artifices, they caused the Senate to order that the Praetors appointed should immediately enter upon their office, without having any regard to the advice of a great number of Senators, who would have had an interval of sixty days between the time of their being named, and their taking possession, that in that space

POMPEIUS, LICINIUS, Consuls.

A. R. 697. space those who should be found culpable of canvassing might be accused. Furnished with this decree Ant. C. 55. they placed in the rank of candidates those who were their friends and their creatures, and in favour of whom they openly solicited.

The virtue alone of Cato, destitute of all other support than that which he found within himself, yet triumphed over all the intrigues of the powerful; and the citizens were ashamed to sell their suffrages to the exclusion of him, when they should have bought such a Praetor with his weight in gold. Thus the first century who gave their voices named Cato for Praetor. Pompey had then recourse to the basest and most unworthy of all resources, a mean and shameful lie; for he said he had heard a clap of thunder, which necessarily broke up the Assembly. He and his Colleague afterwards redoubled their solicitations and their largesses, they filled the Campus Martius with armed men, and succeeded at last in getting preferred to Cato one Vatinus, who was the shame and outcast of Rome, sovereignly despised even by those to whom he was useful, and who put him in the place.

Cic. in
Vatin. 38,
27.

It is reported, that the citizens who had thus prostituted their voices, fled away for shame, and went to hide themselves. Others assembled about Cato, who, always the same, ascended the Tribunal of Harangues, and as if he had been inspired from above, says Plutarch, he foretold all the ills that were to follow, making those who heard him sensible, how necessary it was to resist the Consuls who feared to have Cato for Praetor. He was afterwards conducted back again to his house, with a train more numerous than all the rest who had been named to the Praetorship put together.

The Assemblies for the election of Aediles afforded a scene yet more terrible. Some men were slain so near Pompey that their blood was spilt upon his robe; and as it was impossible for him to quit the Assembly, of which he was president, he caused another robe to be brought from his house, and sent home that which was

was bloody. This robe was shewn to Julia his wife, who loved him tenderly, for Pompey was a good husband, and his conduct, very different, in this respect, from that of Cæsar, had nothing in it of those irregularities which were then so common in Rome. This young lady was extremely frightened to see the robe of her husband all stained with blood, and as she was big with child, the consequence of her fright was very dangerous. She miscarried, and did not recover but with much difficulty.

When all the Magistrates were chosen, the Consuls went about to gather the fruits of the violences and injustices they had committed. They affected on this occasion a false moderation and an hypocritical silence; demanding nothing for themselves either from the People or the Senate. Their dispositions were nevertheless made. They destinated for themselves the Provinces of Syria, from whence it was time to recall Gabinius, and of Spain, where Metellus Nepos made war with so little glory and so little success. The Tribune Trebonius, whom they had gained over to them, therefore proposed a law which assigned to the Consuls those Governments for five years, with as many troops as they should judge proper, and with the power of making war and peace according to their own wills.

It may well be supposed that Cato did not fail to oppose this law. He was even supported by two Tribunes, Ateius Capito and Aquillius Gallus. I shall not enter into a detail of the quarrel, which was very sharp, but which too much resembled those I have already described. I shall content myself with saying, that Cato, after all the efforts of a constancy equally obstinate and fruitless, was seized by the serjeants of Trebonius, who not being able any other way to get rid of him, ordered him to be carried to prison; but as on the way thither he continued talking against the law, and was listened to by a great number of persons who followed him, Trebonius feared the consequence of his undertaking, and caused him

A. R. 697. to be released. The business of the law could not be
 Ant. C. determined that day, and was put off to the next.
 55.

The Tribune Gallus, who thought that if he waited till the morning, he should find all the avenues to the place guarded, so that it would not be possible for him to get in, resolved to shut himself up, and pass the night in the place where the Senate was assembled. He hoped, by this precaution, to get possession, before his adversaries, of the Rostra, which were just by. Trebonius had notice of his design, and placed guards at all the gates of the Senate-House: Thus Gallus was kept as it were imprisoned for a long time; and when he escaped at last, by forcing his passage, he received many wounds, which was all he got by his obstinate resistance. If a Tribune, whose person was sacred, was so cruelly treated, it is easy to believe that the other opponents were not more spared. Some were wounded, others killed, and Crassus himself, to silence a Senator, named L. Annalis, who resisted the law, gave him such a blow in the face with his fist, as made him all bloody. And thus the law passed.

It remained then to satisfy the engagements made with Cæsar. Pompey took upon himself to propose a law to continue him in the governments of the Gauls and Illyria for the space of five years; that is to say, to give a mortal wound to his own power, to his glory, and even to his safety and his life. For this continuance gave Cæsar time to gain such deep root, that it was not possible to shake him, and he was of necessity either to submit to his laws, or make war with him. The blindness of Pompey was so much the more surprizing, as all endeavours had been used to open his eyes.

Cato did not take the same method to resist this law as he had employed against the preceding one. Instead of addressing himself to the People, he turned towards Pompey. " You do not think of it, said " he, but you are giving yourself a master. When " you have received the yoke, and begin to feel the
 " weight

" weight of it, being neither able to shake it off, or
 " bear it, you will fall with your burden on the Com-
 " monwealth; and you will then remember, though
 " too late, the advice of Cato, wherein you might
 " find your own personal interest, as well as that of
 " justice, of the laws and of virtue." Cicero talked
 in the same language to Pompey in private: But
 neither the lively remonstrances of the one, nor the
 soft insinuations of the other, could dissolve the charm
 with which he was bewitched. He thought his power
 superior to all events, and persuaded himself that
 Cæsar would always stand in need of him.

I know not whether the Consuls were willing to
 repair the injury done their reputation, by so many
 irregular and violent enterprizes; but they applied
 themselves to reform several abuses of the new laws.
 Very unhappily the persons of the Reformers agreed
 but little with their designs.

Corruptions were very great in matters of judgment.
 Pompey, to remedy this, introduced some alterations
 in the choice of Judges, and ordered that they should
 be taken from the richest citizens. Very likely, as
 Freinsheimius observes, it was supposed, that poverty
 had been the occasion of some Judges suffering them-
 selves to be gained by presents: but, adds the same
 writer, could the love and respect of justice be more
 expected from those who were become rich by all sorts
 of crimes?

What would become of the Legislators themselves, *Suppl. to*
 if they were to be judged by the laws? A young man *Liv. CV.*
 of an illustrious name, about this time, made Pompey *23. Val. Max.*
 sensible of this, with great freedom. *Val. VI. 2.*
 Valerius Maximus, who relates the fact, does not give us the pre-
 cise date of it. This young man, who was named
 Cn. Piso, accused one Manilius Crispus, notoriously
 and evidently criminal, but protected by Pompey.
 Piso, seeing that the criminal was like to escape, fell
 upon his protector, and sharply reproached him.
 " Why do you not accuse me myself then?" said
 Pompey to him. Piso replied, " Give good security
 Vol. VIII. S " to "

A. R. 697. " to the Commonwealth, that * you will not excite
 Ant. C. 55. " a civil war if I accuse you, and I will prosecute your
 " condemnation, even before that of Manilius."

Nobody had practised canvassing in a manner more open, more impudently, and more criminally, in all its circumstances, than Pompey and Crassus. They had, nevertheless, the effrontery to renew the laws against that abuse, and to add to them new penalties more rigorous than those which were thought sufficient till then.

They also prepared to retrench, by severe rules the luxury of the table; and this perhaps was that kind of reformation which was the least incident for them to undertake, for neither of them was pompous or voluptuous in their domestic expences. Divers laws had been for a long time begun against the progress of this evil: and besides that which is spoken of in a former part of this work, Sylla, during his Dictatorship, and Lepidus, who was Consul in the year of Sylla's death, had caused new ones to pass. But the taste of pleasure, increasing with opulence, had forced these weak fences. The first citizens of the Commonwealth, and even those who piqued themselves on the most pure and ardent zeal for liberty gave into an intolerable luxury, and trod all sumptuary laws under foot.

More than that. In the feasts on account of publick ceremonies, where they were obliged to keep to the letter of the law, delicacy and gluttony found way to make amends by art for any thing that was denied them. This Cicero shews us in a letter, wherein he ingenuously and agreeably relates what happened to him, at a feast given by Lentulus Spinther, on the promotion of his son to the dignity of Augur. " The sumptuary laws †, says he, which ought to

introduc-

* Da prædes Reipublicæ, te, si postulatus fueris, civile bellum excitaturum: etiam de tuo prius quam de Manili capite in consilium judices mittam. VAL. MAX.

† Lex sumptuaria, quæ videtur ab abusione attulisse, ea mihi fraudi sunt. Nam dum volunt isti lauti terrâ nata, quæ lege excepta sunt, in hono-

A. R. 697.
Ant. C.
55.

introduce frugality, have done me a very great injury. For as these laws, severe in other matters, have allowed a full liberty, with respect to pulse, and all the natives of the garden, our voluptuaries so delicately prepared their mushrooms, roots, and all sorts of herbs, that there was never any thing in the world so agreeable. I was taken in by them at the feast of Lentulus; and my intemperance has been punished by an indisposition that continued upon me for above six days. Thus I, who can with ease abstain from oysters and lampreys, have been deceived by beet-root and mallows. But I am well cautioned; and I shall take care of myself another time."

Perhaps what animated this zeal of the Consuls for frugality, was that taste for luxury and pleasures that their principal adversaries had, that is to say, the chiefs of the Aristocratical party. Hortensius did not conceal it; but took upon him boldly to defend that excess, which the others would have banished, by colouring it with the fine names of the magnificence and nobleness that were agreeable to the grandeur of the Commonwealth. He would fain have interested the Consuls in his cause, by praising them for the honourable manner in which they lived, and supported their rank. This discourse of Hortensius, applauded, without doubt, by many of the first Senators, destroyed the project of the Reformation, which it is very likely Pompey and Crassus had not much at heart.

With this pretended severity that they were pleased to affect, Pompey, this same year, made a great breach in the antient discipline, by the construction and dedication of a strong and permanent theatre. Till that time, there had never been any theatres built in Rome, to continue for any longer time than while the spectacles lasted that were to be represented in

rem adducere, fungos, heluellas, herbas omnes ita condunt, ut nihil possit esse suavius. In eas quum incidissem in cœnâ Augurali apud Lentulum, tanta me ~~desperatæ~~ arripuit, ut hodie primum videar cœpisse confondere. Ita ego, qui me ostreis & murænis facile abſtinebam, à betâ & à malvâ deceptus sum. Post hac igitur erimus cautiones. Cic. ad Fam. VII. 26.

A. R. 697. them. It has been related in another place, how the
 Ant. C. Censors, having had the same design which Pompey
 55. Book XXVI. executed, had been stopped by a Senatusconsultum
 made upon the representations of Nasica. The edi-
 fice already begun, was not only interrupted but de-
 molished.

Tertull.
de Spectac.

Although the manners of the Romans were much altered in the time we are speaking of, yet it was not possible but that such a novelty should be blamed by many people. Pompey was sensible of it; and to make his theatre pass the more easily, he joined to it a temple to the honour of Venus the Victorious. He did not so much as name the theatre in the ordinance by which he invited the people to the dedication of this magnificent work: He spoke only of the temple of Venus, "to which, said he, we have added stairs to serve the citizens for seats, in the representation of the spectacles."

Plin. xxxvi. 15. This theatre was extremely large, since it could contain forty thousand souls. The expence of such an edifice must have been enormous; and it is very surprizing, that a private person could bear it without incommoding himself. The surprize will still increase, if it be true, as Dio reports, that it was not Pompey that defrayed it, but Demetrius his freed man, of whom we have already had occasion to speak and who was richer than himself.

A. Gell.
X. 1.

The work was not entirely finished, and in a condition to receive an inscription on the frontispiece, till under the third Consulship of Pompey. It was then that Pompey, puzzled to know how it ought to be expressed that he was Consul for the third time, and doubting whether it should be put CONSVL TERTIUM or TERTIO, consulted Cicero, who seeing men of ability divided in their opinions, eluded the difficulty, by advising Pompey to leave the word, that was to express the number, imperfect, and to write it only with the first four letters and a point, TERT. This was to push the scruple very far. But in Cicero's leaving the matter undecided, there was more management with

person

persons than doubt about the thing. He was not willing to give offence to either party, who had given their opinion about this expression.

A.R. 697
Ant. C.
35.

Although the last hand was not put to the building of the theatre and temple till Pompey was Consul the third time, yet it is certain he made the dedication of it during his second Consulship. He gave to the People, on this occasion, magnificent games of all sorts, plays, combats of the wrestlers and gladiators in the circus, hunting of lions and elephants : But the magnificence of them choaked all taste ; and Cicero, who assisted at these games, gives a description of them, or rather a criticism, in a manner worth all the spectacle.

Cic. ad Fam. vii. 1.

" The preparation for our games was superb, says he, writing to a friend ; but I very much doubt whether they would have given you any great pleasure. In the first place, we have seen actors appearing again upon the stage, to do honour to Pompey, who would have done well for their own honour to have retired. Esop, so famous in tragedy, played in such a manner, that there was not one of the spectators who would not very willingly have dismissed him : In going about to make a speech his voice entirely failed him. What shall I say of the rest ? You have often seen the plays, but these were not so agreeable as what were commonly acted, for the prodigious pomp of them destroyed their elegance. To what purpose were six hundred mules brought upon the stage in the representation of the tragedy of Clytemnestra ? or three thousand vases in that of the Trojan Horse ? All this was enough to glut the curiosity, and draw the admiration of the vulgar, but could give no satisfaction to men of taste. As to the low farces that were given afterwards, you have no reason to regret them, since you may see a copy of them in the Assemblies of the Senate. The combats of the wrestlers were, by the confession of Pompey himself, money thrown away. The chaces, which were given two and two, ten in four days, were, it must be allowed, magnificent.

A. R. 697. Five hundred lions and eighteen elephants had where-
 Ant. C. withal to astonish. But what pleasure could it be to a
 man of wit to see a little weak fellow torn in pieces by
 a large vigorous beast, or a fine beast pierced with a
 spear? On the last day the elephants appeared, which
 caused great admiration in the multitude, but no plea-
 sure. Even the populace were touched with pity, in
 the supposition that this animal has understanding
 and a kind of society with man."

Pompey was but ill repaid for the prodigious pain
 and expences he had been at, if many of the specta-
 tors thought like Cicero; but he was sufficiently re-
 warded by the esteem of sots.

Sen. de
 Brev. Vi-
 tæ, c. 13.
 Plin. viii.
 7.

As to what relates to the elephants, I shall add to
 the recital of Cicero, first that the men * whom they
 caused to fight with them, were either criminals con-
 demned to death, or Africans accustomed to defend
 themselves against these animals, and even to tam-
 and conquer them. This circumstance much di-
 minishes the idea of cruelty which would otherwife at-
 tend this spectacle.

In the second place, what Cicero says in one word of
 the compassion of the People for the elephants, Plin
 explains it to us more circumstantially. They be-
 came furious at first, when they felt themselves
 wounded, and joining together endeavoured to get
 out of the area, and break the bars of iron that in-
 closed them, which occasioned a great deal of dread
 and a great tumult in the assembly. However, the
 barriers resisting them, and the elephants not able to
 save themselves, sent forth lamentable cries, and
 seemed to assume an air of supplication to beseech
 their lives. This sight sensibly moved the People
 who, far from applauding the magnificence of the
 spectacle that Pompey gave them, detested him for
 his cruelty, and loaded him with imprecations.

There is nothing in this recital that to me seems im-
 probable. It is not so with respect to what Dio adds

* Without doubt they made the same choice of those who were
 fit to fight with the lions.

that the elephants lifted their trunks to heaven, demanding justice against those who had brought them to Rome, deceiving them by false oaths. For it is said, these are the words of the historian, that they had not embarked but upon the promise given them by their conductors upon oath, that they should come to no harm. It is not improbable that such a report might be spread, and even find credit among the People of Rome ; but for a writer to put it in his history, as not void of probability, gives us no great idea of his judgment.

A. R. 697.
Ant. C.
55.

To the games of Pompey succeeded affairs more serious in themselves, and the consequences of which were extremely important. The Consuls having drawn lots for the two departments assigned them by the law of Trebonius, the lots happened according to their wishes in giving Syria to Crassus, and Spain to Pompey, who was well pleased not to be too far out of the way. His scheme was constantly to conduct the affairs of the city, and he followed it so well, that for six years that he was Proconsul in Spain, he never set foot in his province ; but governed it by his Lieutenants ; a thing without example in the Commonwealth. Some have said that the love of his wife Julia kept him in the neighbourhood of Rome. But after the death of Julia he did not alter his conduct. The superintendance of provisions, with which he was charged, furnished him with a specious pretence not to quit the city, for the subsistence of which he was to provide.

As to Crassus, from the moment that the Province of Syria fell to him, he could not contain his joy. The ceremony of drawing lots was performed in public ; there wanted not witnesses in the midst of the crowd, many of them unknown to him, and ready enough to criticise on his behaviour. He not only burst into exclamations on his good fortune, but in private, and with his friends, gave himself up to such transports, as neither agreed with his age, or even his character, which was far enough from that of a giddy

Dio Plut.
in Crass.
& Pomp.

A. R. 697. man, and a braggadocio. Syria, the Parthians, were
 Ant. C. the constant preludes to the projects with which he
 55. was full. He treated as trifles the exploits of Lu-
 cullus against Tigranes, and of Pompey against Mi-
 thridates. The Bactriani, the Indies, and all the
 country as far as the Eastern Sea, were conquests that
 he promised himself. Nothing of this was contained
 in the law of Trebonius, which gave him his title:
 but he had opened the field to himself, and that was
 sufficient. And although it was a crime against the
 authority of the Commonwealth, to give so violent
 an extension to the law, the power of Crassus, if he
 had succeeded in his designs, not only screened him
 from all prosecution, but assured him of applause
 and a triumph. Cæsar, for what end soever it was,
 augmented the folly of Crassus, by entering into his
 designs, and exhorting him by letter to undertake the
 war against the Parthians.

The levies of soldiers which were to be made to put
 this ambitious project in execution, excited great mur-
 murs among the people; and they began to talk
 loudly, that it was very wrong to reject the salutary
 remonstrances of Cato. The two Tribunes, Gallus
 and Capito, encouraged by this disposition they saw
 the people in, attempted to put a stop to the raising of
 troops, and even to hinder the Consuls from going
 out of Rome. Pompey was not at all concerned at
 these menaces, which were agreeable to the resolution
 he had taken with himself. Crassus, whose case was
 very different, employed force to resist the opposition
 of the Tribunes.

But he did not by that appease the wrath of the
 public. There was a general outcry in Rome against
 the unjust war that was intended to be made with a
 Nation with which they were in peace. He therefore
 feared he should find some obstacles from the multi-
 tude on the day of his departure; and desired Pompey,
 who was loved and respected by the citizens, to ac-
 company him to the Capitol, and from thence to the
 gate of the city, that matters might pass with decency
 and

and quiet. In short, those who were prepared to hoot at Crassus, and even to hinder his going forwards, seeing Pompey marching before him with a serene and majestic air, were calmed, and left the passage free.

A. R. 697.
Ant. C.
55.

The Tribune Ateius Capito, nevertheless, enraged against Crassus, when the Consul made the usual sacrifices in the Capitol, he would have interrupted them by pronouncing bad omens. Afterwards he endeavoured to send him to prison; but the other Tribunes took upon them the defence of the Consul. At length, as his last resource, he employed the most formidable part of religion against him. He ran to the gate of the city, where he waited for Crassus with an incense pot lighted, upon which he made libations and burnt perfumes, pronouncing horrible imprecations in the name of the Gods, the most uncommon and terrifying. The idea that men had of these imprecations was, that those who were under them could never avoid the fatal effect of them, and that they also brought evil upon the person who pronounced them. Many condemned the action of Ateius upon this principle, that not being irritated against Crassus but by his zeal for the Commonwealth, he should deliver her over to the divine vengeance, by giving up a Consul and a general of the army. But independantly of these superstitious imaginations, it is certain that such imprecations, which gave so great terror, might much discourage the soldiers, and consequently bring great disgraces upon them.

These ill effects were the more to be feared, as no people carried their superstition so far as the Romans. The most simple things in the word seemed to them happy or unhappy presages: Of which this expedition of Crassus furnishes us with several examples. Thus, Cic. de
when he embarked his troops at Brundusium, because Divin. II.
there happened to be a man at the port who carried
^{84.}
igs of Caunus to sell, in Latin *Cauneas*, a word,
which by the manner of pronouncing it, might be
mistaken for *cave ne eas*, “take care of going out;”
they

A. R. 697. they were persuaded that this cry was a warning that
 Ant. C. the Gods sent to Crassus, to put him by his enterprize,
 55. and to declare to him the ill success of it.

Cic. ad Fam. I. 9. I must not omit, that Crassus was desirous to part
 in friendship with Cicero. I have already more than once had occasion to say, that they never loved one another; but the strict union between Pompey and Crassus, did not allow Cicero to continue an enemy to the latter: there had been therefore a first reconciliation between them, about the time that the Triumviral league was formed; and Cicero persuaded himself, that he had sincerely forgot all that was passed. Nevertheless, there remained an old leaven in his heart, which shewed itself on account of a contest they had together in the Senate.

It was concerning Gabinius, who, as I shall relate by and by, had just then re-established Ptolemy Auletes with an armed force, without stopping either at the prohibition of the Senate, or at the oracle of the Sibyl. Cicero having so fair a field open to him against his enemy, triumphed in it, and endeavoured to irritate the Senate against him. Crassus, who at first seemed to think in the same way, afterwards changed his stile; and not contented only with defending the person accused, he let fly some sharp strokes against Cicero. Our Orator * took fire, and his indignation was so lively, that it was easy to see that it was not the present dispute only that occasioned his shewing it as he did. The fund of resentment that slept in his heart, without his perceiving it himself, was now awakened, and displayed itself in all its force.

When he had satisfied the motions of his choler, he began to reflect. He saw a malignant joy in the zealous Republicans, which could not conceal itself, and shewed him that they were charmed to find him

* Exarsi, non solum praesenti, credo, iracundia (nam ea tam vehementer fortasse non fuisset) sed quum inclusum illud odium multarum ejus in me injuriarum, quod ego effudisse me arbitrabar, residuum tamen insciente me fuisset, omne repente apparuit. Cic. ad Fam. I. 9.

embroiled with the Triumvirs for ever. On the other side Pompey besought him immediately, and Cæsar pressed him by letters, to reconcile himself again to Crassus. He did so, and Crassus desired to seal this reconciliation by a repast to which he invited him the evening before his departure, or at most very few days before it. Cicero was faithful to these last engagements : He defended Crassus in the Senate, against the attacks that the Consuls of the following year would have made upon him in his absence.

Cic. ad Fam. V. 8.
Ant. C. 45.

Before I enter upon the recital of the unfortunate expedition of Crassus, I am to give an account of the exploits of Gabinius, to whom he succeeded. I have also left two campaigns of Cæsar in arrear, of which I must recount the events, and join to them the two following, that I may return afterwards to Crassus.

We have seen that Scaurus, left by Pompey in Syria, did nothing to gain much honour, and in the little wars with the Nabatean Arabs he had rather acquired the reputation of a covetous man than that of a great warrior. Marcius Philippus and Lentulus Marcellinus, who had the Province of Syria successfully after him, and were afterwards Consuls together, had not any more distinguished themselves by any great exploits than the other. The courses of the same Arabs, which they could not totally suppress, served for a pretext to Clodius to make Syria a Consular Province, and to recompense Gabinius, by this fine government, who during his Consulship had so well served the hatred of that furious Tribune against Cicero.

Judea was like a dependance on the government of Syria ; and was agitated by great troubles when Gabinius arrived there. It must be remembered here, that after many debates, and a pretty long war between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, brothers, who disputed their royalty between themselves, Pompey had decided the quarrel in favour of Hyrcanus, to whom he gave the office of Sovereign Sacrificator, and the authority of command, but without the diadem ; instead

Joseph. Antiq. XIV. II. & de Bel. Jud. I. 6.

A. R. 697. stead of which he carried Aristobulus away prisoner
 Ant. C. with all his family, composed of two sons, Alexander
 55. and Antigonus, and two daughters. Alexander made
 his escape on the road, and returning into Judea, he
 kept himself concealed for some time. At length
 he re-animated his father's party, and easily got the
 better of the weak Hyrcanus; he thought also to for-
 tify himself against the power of the Romans, by
 rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem, which Pompey had
 thrown down.

Gabinius settled these new troubles with great ac-
 tivity. He entered into the country with his army,
 won some battles, took and razed some fortresses, and
 at length reduced Alexander to sue for favour, and
 he thought himself very happy to preserve his life
 and liberty. He also re-established several towns,
 that had been desolated by the wars, as well civil as
 foreign, and he recalled the inhabitants into them,
 who had dispersed themselves on all sides. The most
 considerable of these towns re-established by Gabi-
 nius was Samaria. He brought back Hyrcanus to
 Jerusalem, and put him again in possession of the so-
 vereign priesthood; but he gave a new form to the
 government of the nation, which he made Aristoc-
 ratical, having divided all the country into five
 Provinces, in each of which he erected a sovereign
 council.

It was after he had thus pacified Judea, that he
 demanded the honour of the *Supplications*, which
 was refused him, although it had been granted to
 others on less occasions. Besides that his personal
 conduct disgraced in him the qualities of a General;
 besides the hatred of the Senate, which he had de-
 served by his cruelty towards Cicero; Freinshemius
 conjectures with much probability, that the revenge
 of the farmers of the public revenues, whom he had
 treated very ill in his Province, had contributed a
 good deal to draw this affront upon him. These
 farmers, or publicans, were of the order of Knights,
 as we have often said, and had great credit in Rome.

Gabi-

Gabinius had drawn their hatred upon him by endeavouring to vex them, not through any zeal to ease the People (he was not capable of acting from a motive so honest and so laudable) but without doubt in consequence of a resentment he had conceived against them, for having constantly opposed him during his Consulship. It is believed he made use of this occasion to revenge himself.

A. R. 697.
Ant. C.
55.

The war of Gabinius in Judea was the first in which Marc-Anthonys signalized his bravery. I take this opportunity to begin to make known a person so famous, and who will act so great a part in the sequel of this history. I have already said, that he was the son of M. Antonius, surnamed, in derision, the Cretan, because he had failed in his expedition against the Isle of Crete, and of one Julia. So by the mother's side he was united in blood to the house of Cæsar. The Anthonys also took to themselves a very high descent, and pretended to be the issue of Hercules. The example and precepts of his mother, who was a lady respectable for her virtue, had no great power over him. But he inherited from his father extravagance, prodigality, and the love of expense. The affairs of Antonius Creticus had been so ill conducted, that his son thought himself obliged to renounce the succession to his estate. This, if I am not mistaken, is the meaning of the reproach made by Cicero, of his having been made a bankrupt, whilst he yet wore the robe of childhood.

Julia, very unhappy in her husbands, married for Cic. Phil. the second time with Lentulus Sura, whom Cicero II. when he was Consul caused to be strangled in prison by order of the Senate. Anthony had passed a great part of his infancy in the house of Lentulus, his mother's husband; and it was there that he received the first seeds of his hatred to Cicero.

His youth was extremely debauched. He was more than suspected of having a strict alliance with Curio, a young man of much wit, but very disorderly in his manners. As such a life is always attended

A. R. 697. tended with many rash and extravagant expences, An.
 Ant. C. thony was indebted six millions of Sesberces, (about
 55. 37,500 pounds sterling) which Curio was answerable
 for. Curio the father, when he was informed of these
 disorders, fell sick with grief. Cicero, who was his
 friend, entered into this affair in a manner not at all
 agreeable to Anthony. He persuaded the father to
 pay his son's debts, but, at the same time, advised
 him to employ all his paternal authority to hinder
 him from ever seeing Anthony or speaking to him.

The first sparks of ambition began to kindle in
 the heart of Anthony, and he attached himself to
 Clodius, at that time Tribune: A new alliance
 which still more and more alienated Cicero from him.
 Nevertheless he was soon disgusted at the fury of this
 madman, and, on the other hand, fearing the party
 that was forming against him, he quitted Rome, and
 went into Greece, to prepare himself there by bodily
 exercises to the business of arms, and at the same
 time, to cultivate his genius by studying of eloquence.
 Plutarch has observed, that his taste for eloquence
 was conformable to the character of his manners,
 stately, delighting in pomp and parade, and more
 noisy than solid.

Gabinius at his going into Syria, desired to carry
 him with him. Anthony would not attend him without
 an honourable employment, and was appointed
 Commander of the Horse. He was made to be be-
 loved by the soldiers. Familiar even to indecency, he
 drank with them, and drank as they did, and would
 contend with them in low buffoonery; no delicacy in
 his taste or in his manners; but the airs of a bully
 supported by real bravery, all this made him adored
 in the army. His manner of dressing himself had
 something of the soldier in it, his tunic tucked up,
 and fastened to his thigh, a great sword by his side,
 and a buckler of the thickest sort. He intended also
 to imitate Hercules, the author of his origin, with
 the statues of whom he boasted to have some resem-
 blance

blance in his face, a thick beard, a broad forehead, and an aquiline nose.

But above all, what gained their hearts, was his liberality, which he carried even to profusion: And in the end this quality alone for a long time supported his affairs, which he had otherwise ruined by giving into all manner of vice.

One instance in the time of his opulence may shew us how very extravagant he was in his liberality. He had one day commanded that a million of sesterces, about six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds sterling, should be given to one of those, who was attached to him. His steward, thinking this largess exorbitant, laid the sum abroad in a place where he was to pass by. Anthony asked what that money was. The steward answering that it was the sum he would have given away. "I thought," said Anthony, who perfectly well understood his meaning, "that a million of sesterces made much more, put as much again to it."

While he served under Gabinius, he was scarce in Joseph. a condition to satisfy the inclination he had to be giving. But he was better enabled to it, by the war against Alexander the son of Aristobulus, and that which was soon after made with Aristobulus himself; for that captive King found means to break his chains, and fly from Rome with his son Antigonus. He came into Judea, and endeavoured to fortify himself there with some troops, that the favour of his name had re-assembled about him. It was unhappy for this Prince to have to do with enemies so powerful as the Romans, for he had courage and resolution: But he wanted forces, and his party was too unequal. Gabinius sent a detachment of his army against him under the command of Marc-Anthon, his son Sisenna, and another general officer. Aristobulus had got together eight thousand men well armed, who, forced to come to action, fought like brave men. Five thousand were killed upon the spot, two thousand dispersed; and the unfortunate Aristobulus, with the other thousand

A. R. 697. sand he had left, shut himself up in a fort. It was
 Ant. C. not possible for him to make a long defence there; at
 55. the end of two days he was taken again, and his son
 Antigonus with him. He was brought loaded with
 chains to Gabinius, who sent him back again to Rome.
 The Senate kept Aristobulus prisoner; but for his
 children they were restored to their mother, who had
 always served Gabinius faithfully in these last move-
 ments in Judea.

Dio.
Appian.
Joseph.
Plut.

Gabinius prepared himself to carry the war into
 the country of the Arabs, whose courses much in-
 commoded Syria. It is true, he was himself the
 most formidable foe to the People of his government
 whom he plagued with all kinds of concussion and
 rapine: Therefore his zeal against the Arabian rob-
 bers did not carry him far. The opportunity and the
 hopes of a richer booty determined him to turn to the
 side of the Parthians.

Phraates, King of Parthia, had been killed by his
 own sons. These abominable parricides were very
 common in the house of Arsacides. Orodes and Mi-
 thridates, as bad brothers as bad sons, disputed for the
 crown between themselves. Mithridates finding him-
 self the weakest, had recourse to Gabinius. He came
 into his camp with Orsanes, the most illustrious no-
 bleman of the Parthian nation, and he had not much
 difficulty to obtain his protection, by employing pre-
 sent s and promises. The Proconsul of Syria had al-
 ready passed the Euphrates with his army, when a
 new prey, more easy and more opulent, brought him
 quickly back again, and frustrated Mithridates of his
 succour.

Ptolemy Auletes came to look for him with letters
 from Pompey, and moreover promised him ten thou-
 sand talents (fifteen hundred thousand pounds ster-
 ling) if he would replace him upon the throne of
 Egypt. So prodigious a sum had powerful charms
 with Gabinius. He reckoned almost upon impunity,
 being supported by Pompey. Nevertheless the de-
 cree of the Senate, and the oracle of the Sibyl, which
 in

in express terms forbade the employing any troops to re-establish the King of Egypt were obstacles that he had some difficulty to surmount. The greatest part of the officers did not approve of so irregular an enterprise. Marc Anthony, little scrupulous, thirsting for glory, and on the other hand gained by Ptolemy, determined Gabinius in favour of a design to which he had but too much inclination.

A. R. 697.
Apt. C.
55.

I have said that Archelaus reigned in Egypt jointly Freins.
with Berenice. After the death of Seleucus Cybo- Suppl. B.
lakes the Alexandrians had invited Philip the son of CV. 41.
Antiochus Grypus to come and take the place that was
left vacant by another Prince of the House of Seleucides. But Gabinius stopped him in his passage, and prevented the execution of that scheme. Archelaus was at that time in the army of Gabinius, with whom he had made an acquaintance during the war of Pompey with Mithridates, and who was come to join him, that he might accompany him in his expedition against the Parthians. He was the son, as I have said, of Archelaus the General of Mithridates's armies, but he made himself pals for the son of Mithridates himself. He offered himself upon this foot to the Alexandrians, whom he saw embarrassed, and was accepted of by them. The difficulty for him was to get away; for Gabinius, informed of his design, had him watched; however, he made his escape. Dio even reports, that it was by a collusion of the Roman General, who was not displeased that Egypt, getting an able and courageous General, should be in a condition to make the greater resistance, and so furnish him with a pretence to pay himself the dearer for his services. Archelaus come to Alexandria, married the Queen, was acknowledged for King, and prepared himself to defend the crown just set upon his head.

Gabinius, on his side, began his march, and crossed Judea. The entrance into Egypt was difficult, and Plut. we almost more uneasiness to the Romans than the Joseph. earth itself. They were to pass through dry and sandy countries, which formed a defile between the lake

A. R. 697. Serbonida and the sea; and at the going out of this
 Ant. C.
 53 neck of land is Pelusium *, a very strong place, and furnished with a numerous garrison. Anthony was detached with the horse, to prepare the way of the whole army; and seconded by Antipater, Minister of Hyrcanus, he succeeded perfectly well. This Idumean, able and intelligent, not only furnished him with money, arms, and provisions, but made the conquest of Pelusium easy to him, by gaining the Jews, who guarded the approaches to it. There were a great number of them settled in these Cantons, where they had even a temple built by Onias of the model of that of Jerusalem. The Pelusiotes had reason to rejoice that they were fallen under the power of Anthony; for Ptolomy, a mean and cruel Prince would have satisfied his revenge on them by plundering and murder. Anthony prevented it, and saved the city he had taken. Gabinius being arrived at Pelusium, entered into Egypt with his army divided into two bodies.

Val. Max. IX, 1. He would, perhaps, have found a resistance capable of stopping him for a long time, if the Alexandrians bravery had answered to that of their King's. But this people, the most audacious and most rash that ever were known in all seditions, were little fit for war. The labours of it especially made them afraid; and it is reported, that Archelaus having ordered them to fortify a camp, they cried out, that they ought to have bargained with undertakers for the work. It may be readily conceived, that such troops could not hold out against the Romans.

However, they fought several battles, in which Anthony always very much distinguished himself. At length, Archelaus being killed in an action, Gabinius remained master both of the city of Alexandria and of all the kingdoms of Egypt, which he gave up to Ptolomy. Anthony, who was generous and humane, caused the body of Archelaus to be sou-

* Damietta.

A.R. 697.
Ant. C.
55.

for, with whom he was allied by the rights of hospitality, and gave him funeral honours with great pomp. This attention and respect to the duties of friendship, notwithstanding the opposition of different parties and interests, gained Anthony much praise. Ptolomy had not a soul noble enough to deserve the like. In the first place he put to death his daughter Berenice, and afterwards the principal and richest of the Alexandrians. Besides the motive of revenge, he was glad to find among their spoils wherewithal to satisfy the engagements he had entered into with Gabinius.

This General did not continue long in Egypt, but several of his soldiers remained there, gained, without doubt, by the promises and money of Ptolomy, who could not confide in his own subjects, and thought, he could not maintain himself upon the throne, without the help of those who had again put him in possession of it. These Romans settled themselves at Alexandria, and married there; and Cæsar eight years after ^{Cæs de B.} found them become true Alexandrians, and that they ^{Lic. III.} _{110.} had almost totally forgot the Roman manners.

New troubles in Judea recalled Gabinius thither. ^{Joseph.} When he went into Egypt, he had left his son Sisenna to command in his absence, who was very young, without experience, and without authority. Alexander the son of Aristobulus took advantage of so favourable an opportunity once more to raise the whole country, and he began especially to fall upon the Romans. Those who could escape him retired to mount Gerizim, and he besieged them there with an army, which must have been very numerous, since after Antipater had debauched a great part of it, he had thirty thousand men remaining. Notwithstanding the diminution of his forces, he waited for Gabinius, with resolution. When the battle came on, he was vanquished; and this last revolt, as well as the former, could not but add to the yoke of the Jews, and make them still more dependent on the dominion of the Romans.

A. R. 697. Gabinius, after he had disposed affairs in Judea and
 Ant. C. Jerusalem, as he had agreed with Antipater, marched
^{55.} against the Arabs, who, in his absence, had given a
 Dio. good deal of trouble to Syria by their courses. He
 obtained some advantages over them, and afterwards
 prepared to carry the war among the Parthians, ac-
 cording to his antient plan, when a Lieutenant of
 Crassus arrived, who came in his name to take the
 command of the army. Gabinius would not acknow-
 ledge or receive this Officer, as if he had designed to
 perpetuate himself in his employment: And this,
 perhaps, was what engaged Crassus to hasten his de-
 parture. Gabinius did not judge it would be proper
 to wait for him; but before he retired, he revenged
 himself by sending back Mithridates and Orsanes,
 and so depriving Crassus of the assistance he might
 have had from them in the war against the Parthians.
 As this action was black in itself, and capable of ex-
 asperating the Roman army, he caused a report to
 be spread, that they had fled.

Gabinius was to return to Italy, and this gave him
 much uneasiness. The minds of men in general were
 disgusted against him. He had not dared to write to
 Rome, to give an account of the re-establishment of
 Ptolomy. But when the news of it arrived there by
 public report, the People were extremely enraged at
 the contempt he had shewn for religion, and the oracle
 of the Sybil. The Senate, a long time irritated
 against him, could not forgive his trampling their au-
 thority under foot. The Publicans, to whom he had
 shewn himself an implacable enemy, cried out aloud
 against him. And even the Syrians complained, ei-
 ther of his unjust acts, or of the ravages he had ex-
 posed them to from the Arabs, by going out of his
 Province. Cicero, to so many subjects of discontent
 joined violent invectives; and, without doubt, would
 have obtained a decree of the Senate against Gabinius
 if the Consuls Pompey and Crassus had not power-
 fully protected him; Pompey, through the effect of
 his antient friendship for a man who had been al-

way

ways attached to him; and Crassus, as much through a consideration for his Colleague, as on account of the money that he had received from the culpable person.

This first storm was thus blown over; but it was renewed the year following, which had for Consuls L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Ap. Claudius Pulcher.

L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS.

AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

A.R. 698.

Ant. C.

54.

Of the two Consuls, the first, devoted at all times to the Aristocratical party, made it his glory to be a declared enemy to the Triumviral League, which had even made him miss the Consulship the preceding year. The second was a man undetermined, a friend of Pompey to a certain point, accessible to corruption and presents, nevertheless capable, through vanity, and a perverseness of temper, to affect severity, and make a shew of being a lover of liberty and the laws. Thus Gabinius was sure of having Domitius against him, and could scarce reckon upon the protection of Appius.

Although he had remitted to Rome very considerable sums to all those of whom he thought he should stand in need, yet his conscience so terrified him, that he protracted his journey as long as ever he was able. He did not arrive till the latter end of September, entered the city in the night, and passed some time shut up in his house, without daring to shew himself. However, he was obliged to come to the Senate, according to custom, to lay before it the state of the enemies forces, and that of the Roman troops which he had left in his Province. He was extremely ill treated, especially by Cicero, against whom he had no other resource, than to reproach him with his exile. At his word all the Senate moved with indignation rose up, and taking the part of Cicero, loaded Gabinius with outcries and menaces: and so the Assembly started.

Dio. Cic.

ad Q.
Fr. III.

A. R. 698. There was a struggle who should accuse a man so odious and so criminal. Three companies (for it was the practice in Rome, that a principal accuser got himself supported by several seconds) presented themselves to the Praetor, who had the cognizance of the crime of public Lese-Majesty, and demanded that they might be permitted to accuse Gabinius. Cicero had a great desire to have put himself among this number, but was withheld by his consideration of Pompey, who was so far from being disposed to approve of his accusing Gabinius, that he even pressed him to reconcile himself to him. Our orator for that time refused the reconciliation; but he thought he ought not to oppose Pompey so far as to become an accuser.

Val. Max.
VIII. 1.

Among those who undertook to accuse Gabinius, was C. Memmius a Tribune of the People, who, as a prelude to the accusation in form, inveighed against him in an Assembly with so much vehemence, that the multitude, transported with rage, were just ready to call out for the punishment of the criminal. Sifenna, the son of Gabinius, came, in the presence of every body, and threw himself at the feet of the Tribune, and in the motion he made to embrace his knees, the gold ring he had upon his finger fell off. The sight of this young man thus prostrate and humbling himself, began to soften the People; and the haughtiness of Memmius, who repelled Sifenna roughly, made an end of changing the hatred they before bore to Gabinius into commiseration.

Cic.

I know not whether this adventure contributed to prevent the Judges giving the part of accuser to Memmius, but Q. Lentulus was preferred to him. This was the person Gabinius would have chosen himself, had it been in his power. A man without talents, who acted in this affair with much coolness, and who indeed pleaded very ill. The public report accused him of having an understanding with the person whom he prosecuted. Nevertheless the cause of

Gabinius was so bad, his contravention to a decree of the Senate, and oracle acknowledged for divine, so positive, that it seemed impossible for him to avoid condemnation. Very grave witnesses, and Cicero among the rest, charged him home. But the protection of Pompey, who did then everything, and the money of the accused, triumphed over all laws, rules, judgments, and public honour. Gabinius was absolved by a majority of thirty-eight voices against thirty-two.

A judgment so unjust exasperated all men: And as Gabinius, besides the crime of Lese-Majesty, of which he was just acquitted, had still to answer to two other accusations, that of canvassing, and that of concussion, Cicero foretold from that time that he must sink under one of them. An unforeseen event, and wholly strange, did him great harm, and inflamed the People's indignation against him afresh. The Tiber overflowed its banks, and did much mischief in the city. This, by the multitude, was looked upon as a proof of the wrath of the Gods; and the cause was immediately attributed to the impunity of the Judges, for having suffered an impious wretch to escape, who had despised the oracles of heaven.

In these circumstances he was obliged to appear before the tribunal of Cato, then Prætor, to answer to the accusation of concussion. In this second affair, he had (who could believe it?) Cicero for a defender. Pompey was desirous that Cicero should have undertaken the cause of Gabinius, when accused of Lese-Majesty. Cicero defended himself against it, and in writing to his brother, protested that as long as he could preserve the least shadow of liberty, he would never take such a step. He looked upon it, with reason, as an infamous thing to plead for a guilty person, whom he had cause to hate, and against whom he had spoke freely on all occasions. But this time Pompey redoubled his instances, and exacted from him with all his power, that he should share with him, in the dishonour of protecting a criminal hated by

Dio. Cic.

A. R. 698. Gods and men. Cicero had already made so many
 Ant. C. false steps, that he thought himself as it were obliged
 54. still to add this to them. Gabinius had himself, for
 some time, been endeavouring to soften Cicero. And when Cicero in the last affair had attacked him with a
 warm deposition, the accused, instead of answering on
 the same tone, declared that if he got over that busi-
 ness with honour, and was permitted to live in the
 city, he would endeavour to regain his friend ship.
 This protestation so obliging and so submissive pleased
 Cicero; and Pompey, returning to the charge in a
 manner not to be refused, overcame at length all his
 repugnance. This was not the first time that he had
 undertaken causes, which he himself had acknow-
 ledged were bad. He therefore pleaded for Gabinius
 by Pompey joined all his power to the eloquence of
 Cicero. As in quality of Proconsul he could not en-
 ter Rome, he caused the People to be invited to as-
 semble themselves without the city, and harangued
 strongly in favour of the accused. He obtained let-
 ters of recommendation from Caesar, he solicited the
 Judges himself. But the People, struck with the fear
 of celestial wrath, would not easily suffer their victim
 to be taken from them. On the other hand, Gab-
 nius, who had escaped from a greater danger than he
 now thought himself in, was more sparing in his ex-
 pences, and did not bestow very abundant largesses
 on the Judges. He was condemned, and obliged to
 go into exile, where he remained till the war between
 Caesar and Pompey. Cicero had therefore the disgrace
 of being found false with regard to Gabinius, not out
 of generosity, for that might have been laudable, but
 through a servile complaisance to power.

Cic. ad Fam. I. 9. He had defended this same year, which as little
 honour, but more success, another of his old enemies,
 whom he sovereignly despised. This was Vatinius.
 In the preceding year, while this unworthy competitor
 of Cato disputed the Prætorship with him, Cicero
 had oftentimes used him ill in the Senate. But when
 he had carried it by voices, as I have related above,
 the

the same Cicero, at the desire of Pompey, who always weakened him, reconciled himself to Vatinus. From thence he had but one more step to take, when he was accused of canvassing at his going out of the Praetorship. Cæsar came to his support, and that was a solicitation very powerful with Cicero, who was careful in preserving such a friend, and whose brother served him as Lieutenant-General in Gaul. Lastly, the caresses and marks of benevolence, that the zealous Republicans continued to lavish upon Clodius, sensibly piqued our orators, and he was glad, as he declared himself in pleading, to pique them in his turn, and turn the tables upon them by favouring Vatinus. He therefore prevailed upon himself to undertake the cause of a man equally odious and despicable, and whose crime was more evident than the sun at noon-day. No eloquence could have been sufficient to have saved him from punishment; but the triumviral faction succeeded in it. The accuser, a man of wit, displayed his talents, which were great, and which had secured him an honourable rank among the most celebrated orators of his age. All the endeavours of Calvus failed against the authority of Cæsar and Pompey. Vatinus was absolved.

The pleading of Calvus on this occasion, is often cited with praise by the Antients: But we have not those of Cicero for Gabinius and Vatinus; and it seems he had only left among his papers some sketches of them without their being polished, and without his having put the last hand to them. It is probable that shame would not permit him to make them public.

For he was not capable of blinding himself to his errors, he felt them. Understanding never failed him, but his courage did not answer to it. And he grieved bitterly for it. He complains to his brother of the servitude in which he lived, so far as not to be at liberty even in his hatred, and that at a time when he ought to be the arbiter of the greatest affairs in the commonwealth. Pliny has preserved to us a celebrated

A. R. 69.
Ant. C.
54.

Cic. ad Q.
Fr. III. 5.
Plin. Praef.
Hist. Nat.

A. R. 69. A. R. 69.
Ant. C. 54. brated saying of his, which expresses the same sentiment. Cicero comparing his situation with that of Cato, who was respected even by those who were very far from imitating his virtue : “ O Cato,” cried he, “ how happy are you, who have no body that dare ask any thing of you that is contrary to honour !” He might have been as happy ; he only wanted resolution.

The consequences of the affair of Gabinius have brought me thus far ; I must now go back, and resume the exploits of Cæsar, in his third campaign, where we stopped.

• *O te felicem, M. Porci ! à quo rem improbam nemo petere audet.*

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THE

ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK THE FORTY-FIRST.

FOUR campaigns of Cæsar in the Gauls.
The unhappy expedition of Crassus against the Parthians. In the years of Rome 696 to 699.

SECT. I.

The state of the Gauls after Cæsar's two first campaigns.
The Veneti form a powerful league against the Romans.
Cæsar distributes his forces in different parts of Gaul, and goes in person against the Veneti. A sea-fight, wherein the Veneti are vanquished. They surrender at discretion, and are treated with rigour. The victory of Sabinus, Cæsar's Lieutenant, over three nations allied to the Veneti. The Aquitani subdued by P. Crassus. Cæsar undertakes to bring under his yoke the Morini, and the Menapii, but is stopped by the bad weather.

C. N. COR-

A. R. 696.
Ant. C.
56.C. N. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS.
L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.Cæs. de
B. G. II.
34.

GAUL seemed to be almost subdued by the exploits of the two first campaigns of Cæsar. The Helvetii vanquished, and forced to return to their own country; the Germans drove beyond the Rhine; the numerous armies of the Belgæ dissipated and destroyed, and their towns brought to a composition, or taken by force; so many and so great victories had rendered the Romans masters of all the country which extends from the lake of Geneva and the Rhone, to the German ocean, and the very heart of Gaul. At the same time that Cæsar made war in person against the Belgæ, P. Crassus, one of his Lieutenants, had over-run the western part of Gaul, which we at this time call Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Bretagne; and had obliged the people of these countries to acknowledge the Roman Empire, and give hostages. But the love of liberty, and the hatred of a foreign dominion, were not sentiments to be easily extinguished among the Gauls; and particularly the people who had treated with Crassus having been rather surprized by a sudden terror, than vanquished by force, made no scruple to revolt.

Ib. L. III. The Veneti * gave the signal for the rebellion. This nation was very powerful, especially in its naval forces. They had many ships, with which they carried on a trade to Great-Britain. They surpassed their neighbours in skill and experience in maritime affairs; and as their coast had but a small number of Ports, of which they were the sole masters, they gave law to all who navigated in those seas, and drew tribute from them. P. Crassus, who had established his winter-quarters in Anjou, and who wanted provisions, having sent two officers to them to demand corn, the Veneti kept them prisoners, and their example was fol-

* Those of Vannes.

lowed by the Curiosolites *, and the Eusubii †, who had received Deputies from Crassus charged with the same orders. These three people uniting for the defence of their liberty, soon made several others enter into the same league ; and they all declared, with one common consent, to Crassus, that he must return their hostages, if he expected to have his Deputies restored.

A. R. 696.
Ant. C.
56.

Cæsar, informed of these movements by Crassus, used his accustomed speed. Although he was at a great distance ‡, nevertheless, he immediately gave orders to build a fleet upon the Loire, and to take rowers, sailors, and pilots out of the Roman province. He also commanded those of Poitou and Saintonge, who continued obedient, to furnish him with ships, after which he came with expedition, and put himself at the head of his army.

His arrival did not intimidate the Veneti, but made them endeavour to strengthen themselves with a great number of Allies ; and they succeeded so well, that all the people of the coast, from Mentz to the mouth of the Rhine, entered into the confederation. They even brought succours from Great-Britain.

These forces were considerable, and might easily have increased by the junction of several other Gaulish people, who bore their yoke with impatience, or apprehended to see themselves soon subdued.

Cæsar, to restrain those who had not yet declared themselves ; and farther, to hinder the Confederates from uniting together in one army, took the method of dividing his troops, and dispersing them in different parts of Gaul. He sent Labienus towards Treves with a body of cavalry. P. Crassus, at the head of twelve legionary cohorts, passed Garonne, and entered into Aquitaine. Another Lieutenant-General, named

* Those of Cornwall.

† This name is unknown. Some have thought that it ought to be read Lexobios, (in Cæsar's text) those of Lisieux.

‡ Cæsar does not tell us precisely where he was. So I have left the expression in general.

A. R. 696. Q. Titurius Sabinus, was charged with three legions,
 Ant. C. to give employment among them to the people who
 56. inhabited the coasts which we call Lower-Bretagne and
 of Normandy as far as Lisieux. D. Brutus was named
 Commander of the fleet that was to fight the Veneti,
 and Cæsar himself brought against them the land-
 forces.

He laid siege to several of their places, but with
 much pain and very little success. The greatest part
 of their towns were built on promontories, and points
 of land, whose foot was washed by the waters of the
 sea at high tide, and open when it was low. Thus
 neither the land-forces could attack these places un-
 der water for six hours, nor the ships keep before
 them, because it was dry for the six hours following.
 And when the Romans by immense works had raised
 dikes that might stay the flood, the Veneti retreated
 with all their people, and all their provisions to their
 ships, and went and shut themselves up in another
 place.

Cæsar apprehended he should give himself unnecessary trouble, and that he could not reduce the Veneti but by a naval battle. He took therefore the method of waiting for his fleet; and when it was arrived, the enemy did not delay to come out of their ports to fight. They had great confidence in their marine; and came to fall upon the Romans with two hundred and twenty vessels, very well equipt, and built in the most commodious manner for riding at sea. These were ships of high sides, which went with sails, and whose bottoms were yet flat enough to put them out of danger of running a-ground at low water. The Romans, on the contrary, had only gallies so low, that even the towers that they placed upon them could hardly reach the sides of the enemies ships. Thus they suffered more from the darts thrown by the Gauls, and could scarce do them any damage by those which they launched up to them from beneath them. Their only resource was to come to board them, when the bravery of their soldiers, and the number of their vessels

vessels might give them the superiority. To bring A. R. 65. Ant. C.
the combat to this point, this was the expedient they
made use of. 56.

They had scythes very sharp, and fastened to long
poles, with which they laid hold on the cordage that
tied the yards to the masts, then getting farther off
by the help of their oars, they broke or cut the ropes
which the scythes hung on. The yards fell; having
no longer any sails, the Gaulish vessels became im-
moveable, and it was impossible to work them. Two
or three Roman galleys then going round them, the
Roman soldiers jumped into them on all sides, and
their valour being animated by the sight of Cæsar
himself and the whole land-army, which covered all
the neighbouring shores, easily triumphed over the
enemy, already half vanquished by the loss they sus-
tained at the first onset. A great number of the
Gaulish vessels being forced in this manner, the others
thought of betaking themselves to flight, but there
happened a calm on a sudden, which delivered'd them
up to their conquerors. The night only saved some
of them, all the rest were taken by the Romans.

This battle made an end of the war, for all the
forces of the nation of the Veneti were assembled in
this fleet. They had lost all their youth, all who
were eminent among them by their rank or authority,
all their ships. They were obliged to surrender at
discretion. Cæsar treated them with rigour, as being
guilty of having violated the law of nations, in the
persons of those Roman officers who had been sent
to them by P. Crassus, and whom they had retained
prisoners. He pretended, that it was necessary to
teach these Barbarians to respect those who were in-
vested with public characters. I know not whether
this was not a little too lofty concerning men whose
commission reduced them to buy corn, and whether
the Roman pride and haughtiness did not influence
Cæsar too much in the judgment he made and exer-
cised on this occasion. Be that as it may, the un-
happy Veneti were the victims to it. All their Sena-
tors

A.R. 696. tors were put to death, and the rest of them fol.
Ant. C. by outcry.
56.

The arms of Cæsar prospered on every side. At the same time that he vanquished the Veneti, Titus Sabinus gained a great battle over the Unelli, the Eburovices †, and the Lexovii united. The rage of the two last people for the war was so furious, that they had massacred their Senate, for having opposed it. After this cruel execution they joined their troops to those of the Unelli, whose Chief Viridovix was acknowledged for Generalissimo of the army of the three nations. Under his command they marched to the Romans, and came and posted themselves within two thousand paces of their camp, dared them to the combat, and every day reviewed their numerous troops within their sight.

Sabinus conducted himself like an able and a prudent officer. He thought it was not proper for a simple Lieutenant, in the absence of his General, to hazard, without necessity, a battle against an army much stronger in number than his own. Therefore in spight of the bravado's of the enemies, and the discontent of his own soldiers, he kept himself close in his camp, being glad, by this appearance of timidity, to augment the contempt that the Gauls had for him. He went farther; he sent away a pretended deserter, who gave them false intelligence, and said, that Cæsar was very much embarrassed to support the war against the Veneti, and that Sabinus was the next night to steal privately out of his camp, and march to the succour of his General. This account had nothing in it but what was probable; and, on the other hand, they easily believed what they wished. Thus the Gauls, full of joy and confidence, forced their Generals to lead them on immediately to attack the camp of the Romans. They made provisions of fascines to fill the fosses, and advanced as to certain victory.

* The people of Coutantin.

† Those of Evreux.

The Romans were encamped upon an eminence. Our Gauls mounted with precipitation, and arrived there quite out of breath. In an instant Sabinus caused all his troops to sally out upon them at two gates at once. This sally was so brisk, that the assailants, fatigued by too rude a march, and encumbered with the fascines they brought along with them, could not even support the first shock. They took to flight, leaving a great number dead upon the place. The Roman cavalry pursued them, and made an end of destroying his numerous army, in such a manner that there escaped but a very small party of it.

The Gauls were as soon discouraged by disgrace, as they were ardent at first in undertaking the war. Thus this defeat totally quelled this vanquished nation, and they submitted themselves to Sabinus.

P. Crassus did not succeed less happily in Aquitaine. He gained a battle, took an important city, and forced a camp. I will not stop to give a detail of his exploits. I shall only observe, that the enemy vanquished made a very fine defence. The Sotiates*, whom he attacked the first, had a great share See B. in the defeat of L. Manilius, Proconsul of Narbonne- xxxiv. in Gaul, at the time of the war of Sertorius. Proud of this victory, they fought against Crassus with more courage; and after they were vanquished, they put themselves up in their city, where they maintained the siege with great bravery. They gave proofs of their valour in several sallies; and as they knew perfectly well the use of mines, they carried one under the works of the besiegers. All was ineffectual, and they were obliged to surrender to Crassus, who disarmed them.

The defeat of the Sotiates, and the taking their city, was a warning to the other people of Aquitaine to unite themselves against the Conqueror. They

Sanson pretends that the city of the Sotiates was Leitoure. Others think a vestige of the name of this antient people is found in the village of Sos en Estarac.

A. R. 69⁶. even implored the assistance of the Spaniards their
 Ant. C. neighbours, and got some of the persons raised by the
 §6. great Sertorius to come and command them. Under
 these new chiefs, war was not made with the impetu-
 osity and fury commonly used by the Barbarians.
 They avoided coming to an engagement, and kept
 themselves in a camp well fortified, being willing to
 keep the advantage they had of making war in a coun-
 try that was their friend, and upon their land, and to
 ruin their enemies by length of time, since they were
 constrained to get their provisions far off, and with
 much difficulty. This was what obliged Crassus to
 assault their camp; and he would have found a good
 deal of trouble to have forced it, if the rear of this
 camp had been guarded with care. But it was neg-
 lected; and Crassus, who had notice of it, sent his
 cavalry there with four cohorts of reserve. These
 troops entered into the enemies camp without resistance
 and the Aquitani, encompassed behind, attacked with
 vigour before, found they were not in a condition to
 defend themselves; but were cut to pieces. Of fifty
 thousand, there hardly remained the fourth part. The
 fruit of this victory was the submission of all the
 Aquitani, except some few drawn back, and hid in
 the Pyrenees.

This was the last service that P. Crassus rendered
 Cæsar. He went afterwards to Rome, and even car-
 ried thither a considerable number of soldiers for the
 support of Pompey and Crassus, in their demanding
 the Consulship, and then followed his father in the
 unfortunate expedition against the Parthians.

When Cæsar had finished the war with the Veneti, the season was far advanced: Nevertheless as the Morini and the Menapii *, people situated in the northern part of Gaul, after having entered into the league, which was just dissipated and overcome, ha-

* The Morini inhabited along the sea, between the Somme and the Scheld. The Menapii in the time of Cæsar occupied the two banks of the Rhine below the place where Cologn has been since built.

A. R. 696.
Ant. C.
56.

not yet taken any step to shew their submission to the Romans. Cæsar, who thought he had done nothing while there remained any thing to do, marched against them to make a compleat end of his victory. He found more difficulty in it than he expected. These People, by example of others, apprehended that no Gaulish army could hold out a campaign against the Romans; and as their country was all covered with woods and morasses, they retired thither with all their effects.

Cæsar arrived at the entrance of these woods, and began to fortify a camp. The Gauls made a sally upon their workmen: He engaged them in a battle, in which finding themselves pressed, they made to their retreats. The ardour of the victory made the Romans follow them thither; but they found they did wrong, and in these incumbered roads they lost several of their bravest soldiers.

No obstacles could stop Cæsar. He resolved to lay low these immense forests, and with the trees that he cut down he made a kind of ramparts, placing them on both sides his army, to cover the flanks of it against the sudden incursions of the Barbarians. He had already cleared a very great space of ground with incredible diligence, and was got as far as the place where the enemies cattle and baggage were, so that they were forced to plunge themselves into forests that were thicker and deeper. But the bad weather that came on, and the continual rains, would not allow him to keep his army any longer without shelter. He was obliged to yield to necessity, and leave his victory imperfect. But he ravaged the country, and burnt the villages and all the houses of these unhappy people; after which he retired; and distributed his troops in winter-quarters upon the lands of the Aulerci, and of other people newly subdued.

* Nil actum credens, dum quid superesset agendum. LUCAN. II.

The Aulerci Eburovices are those of Evreux, the Aulerci Cenomani those of Maine.

S E C T. II.

Gaul continues peaceable through necessity. The Usipii and the Tencteri, People of Germany, pass the Rhine. Cæsar marches against them. A negotiation begun between these People and Cæsar, but broke off by a battle, without its being clear which side was in fault. The Germans are surprized by Cæsar and entirely defeated. Cæsar resolves to pass the Rhine. His motives for so doing. The description of a bridge built over the Rhine by Cæsar. His exploits in Germany, reduced to a small compass. He forms the design of going over into Great-Britain. His motives for it. He prepares every thing for his passage. He departs. The battle on his landing. The submissive behaviour on the side of the Barbarians. The cavalry of Cæsar cannot land. His fleet is ill used by the high tides. The Barbarians renew the war. The use that they made of their transports in battle. A treaty between Cæsar and the islanders. Cæsar repasses into Gaul.

A. R. 697.
Ant. C.
55.

CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS II.
M. LICINIUS CRASSUS II.

GAUL did not much exercise the activity of Cæsar during the year that Pompey and Crassus were Consuls for the second time. Attacked successively on all sides, undergoing one after another many violent defeats, their astonishment, their dismay, and above all their weakness from the losses they had sustained, forced them to remain quiet and submissive, at least for a time. Two German nations came, as it were, to relieve them, and present an occasion to Cæsar of avoiding that repose which was insupportable to him.

Cæs. de B.
G. L. IV.

The Usipii and Tencteri were neighbours of the Suevi, a very powerful nation who occupied a great part of Germany, and who were composed of a hun-

hundred nations or cantons, from each of which there went out a thousand men every year to make war. The Suevi were bad neighbours. They thought it was their glory to be bounded by vast solitudes, which might prove that a great number of People had not been able to sustain their efforts. The Tencteri and the Usipii found themselves in this case. After having resisted the Suevi for many years, they were drove off their lands, and obliged to wander here and there, for the space of three years, through different parts of Germany, and at length arrived, during the winter of the year we are speaking of, on the banks of the Rhine, at the place inhabited by the Menapii, who had hamlets and little villages on both sides the river.

A. R. 697.
Ant. C.
§ 5.

At the approach of this cloud of Germans (for they were not an army, but the two nations who marched in a body, men, women, and children, to the number of above four hundred and thirty thousand heads) those of the Menapii who occupied the right hand bank of the Rhine retired to this side from the Gauls, and disposed their troops to hinder the enemies passage. The Germans having no boats, and seeing the opposite bank carefully guarded, made use of this stratagem. They caused a report to be spread, that they would return to their own country, and they actually went three days march distance from the river. The Menapii thought they were gone, and returned to their hamlets. But the German cavalry returning with speed, and having gained the neighbourhood of the river in one night only, surprized the too credulous Gauls, cut their throats, and having seized in their boats, passed over to the other side, before that part of the Menapii which occupied it was informed of what had happened. The Victors remained masters of the country, and lived there all the winter on the provisions they found in it.

As soon as Cæsar heard of the passage of the Usipii and Tencteri, he was afraid the Gauls would call these new-comers to their aid, and that he should

A. R. 697. Ant. C. 55. find a war renewed more difficult and more dangerous than those which he had put an end to with so much trouble. Here he accuses us Gauls of an incredible levity. He says that they stopped travellers upon the main road and in the streets in their towns, and especially Merchants, whom they examined about the countries they came from, and forced them to give them answers; upon which answers, oftentimes not better founded than on uncertain reports, or dictated by a desire to please, they took their measures with regard to their most important affairs, which made them oftentimes repent very soon, when they even shewed them they had been deceived. The knowledge that Cæsar had of this facility in the Gauls to engage in any new enterprizes, determined him to come sooner than ordinary to put himself at the head of his army, that by his presence he might check any projects of a revolt.

At his arrival he learnt, that, according to his suppositions, some of the Gaulish People had already sent intelligence to the Usipii and the Tencteri, who, in consequence of it, had quitted the banks of the Rhine, and were advanced to the lands of the Eburons * and of the Condruzes †, clients of those of Treves. Like an able man, he feigned himself ignorant of that which it was not a time to punish. He called about the principal chiefs of the Gauls, spoke to them with benevolence, and having demanded some cavalry of them, marched against the Germans.

When he was within a few days march of them, he saw coming to him Ambassadors from them, who spoke a language, in which, in spite of their haughtiness and bravado's, after the manner of the Barbarians, it was easy to perceive some uneasiness and fear. They told him, "that those who sent them had no design to enter into a war with the Romans; that if they were attacked, they knew how to defend them-

* Those of Liege.

† The Condros still retain that antient name.

selves, having learnt from their fathers never to ask quarter. That nevertheless they were willing to protest to him that they had not entered into Gaul but against their inclinations, and because they had been driven out of their own country. That if the Romans would have them for friends, the Usipii and the Tencteri might not be unuseful to them. That they were ready either to accept of the lands that Cæsar should think fit to give them, or to establish themselves upon those they had conquered. That they did not yield in point of bravery to any but the Suevi, whom the immortal Gods themselves were not able to resist; but that there were no other people in the world whom they were not fully persuaded they were able to overcome."

Cæsar declared plainly to them, that there were no lands they could hope for on this side the Rhine: But he made a proposal to them, that they should incorporate themselves with the Ubii, a German People, and galled, as they were, by the Suevi. These Ubii, who at that time inhabited upon the right bank of the Rhine, had implored the assistance of Cæsar, who promised to procure them a powerful reinforcement, without expence or trouble, by joining the Usipii and the Tencteri to them. This proposition of the Roman General gave rise to a negotiation, during which he still advanced. When he was within eight thousand paces of them, a battle was given by the horse, in which eight hundred Germans defeated and put to flight five thousand of the Roman cavalry.

Among those who perished on this occasion, Cæsar particularly regretted an illustrious Aquitain, of very high birth, who had been made a citizen of Rome, as appeared by the name of Piso which he bore. This brave man seeing his brother surrounded by the enemy, ran to him, and disengaged him. But having his horse wounded, was obliged to dismount, and having defended himself valiantly a long time on foot, was at length overpowered by number, and left dead on the place: His brother, who had retreated, seeing

A. R. 697. what had happened at a distance, and not being able
 Ant. C. to survive a brother he tenderly loved, and who had
 55. been his deliverer, returned full speed, and throwing
 himself in the midst of his enemies, was killed in the
 same manner.

This battle was of great importance, by the circumstance of its having been given at a time when there was a negotiation open between Cæsar and the Germans, by whom he was engaged, and consequently upon whom the reproach of perfidy ought to fall. It is a problem that labours under some difficulty. Cæsar threw the fault upon the Barbarians; but several people were persuaded at Rome, that it was he who had violated the faith of the treaty; and when they were decreeing him honours in the senate for his exploits in this campaign, Cato gave it for his opinion, that he should be delivered up to the Germans, that he might suffer alone the punishment of his infidelity, and that the Commonwealth might not be answerable for it to Gods and men.

It is difficult to decide upon a point so obscure, and concerning which the interest of Cæsar, on one side, lessened the weight of his evidence, and where hatred and partiality, on the other, might carry Cato beyond due bounds. It is known that Cæsar was not scrupulous in acts of morality: But his proceedings were frank and generous, at least to outward appearance; and how little soever he troubled himself about having truth and justice at the bottom of what he did, he always affected to make a shew of them. It must nevertheless be allowed that appearances were not for him here. It is not probable that eight hundred horsemen should be determined the first to attack five thousand: And a step of the Germans, which seemed to prove their good faith, was, that the day after the battle, they sent their deputies again to Cæsar, to make him their excuses, and to continue the negotiation.

Cæsar kept these Deputies prisoners; and he had reason, if it was true, as he accused them, that they

came

came to deceive, and amuse, him with fair speeches, while their nation were committing acts of hostility against the Romans. At the same time, judging that the Germans did not any longer fear being attacked, and therefore were not much upon their guard, while they sent to negotiate with him, he made his army go out of the camp, and march in order of battle to the enemy. He disposed his troops in three lines, leaving the cavalry in the rear, on account of the terror of which he thought they were not yet well recovered since their defeat.

He found things as he had foreseen. The Germans were surprized, and had not the time necessary to put themselves upon their defence; some were for continuing in the camp, and others for going out into the open plain. During this trouble and confusion the Romans fell upon them, and had an easy conquest. It was not a battle but a rout. After some of the bravest of them had ineffectually attempted to make a slight resistance, all were put to flight. The women and children, who covered all the place, were massacred by the Roman cavalry. The others pursued as far as the conflux of the Meuse and Rhine, threw themselves precipitately into those rivers, and almost all perished, so that of this prodigious multitude very few escaped. The Romans did not lose one man, and had but a very small number wounded.

It was at that time that Cæsar resolved to pass the Rhine. He relates different motives which determined him to it; but it may be suspected, that he concealed the true one, which was nothing but an immoderate desire of a new kind of glory, and the inclination he had to make a noise. The Rhine and Germany were then very little known to the Romans. It was therefore a singular and very shining honour to be the first who passed that great river, and carried terror into a barbarous country, with which Rome had almost never had any commerce till that time.

The

A.R. 597.

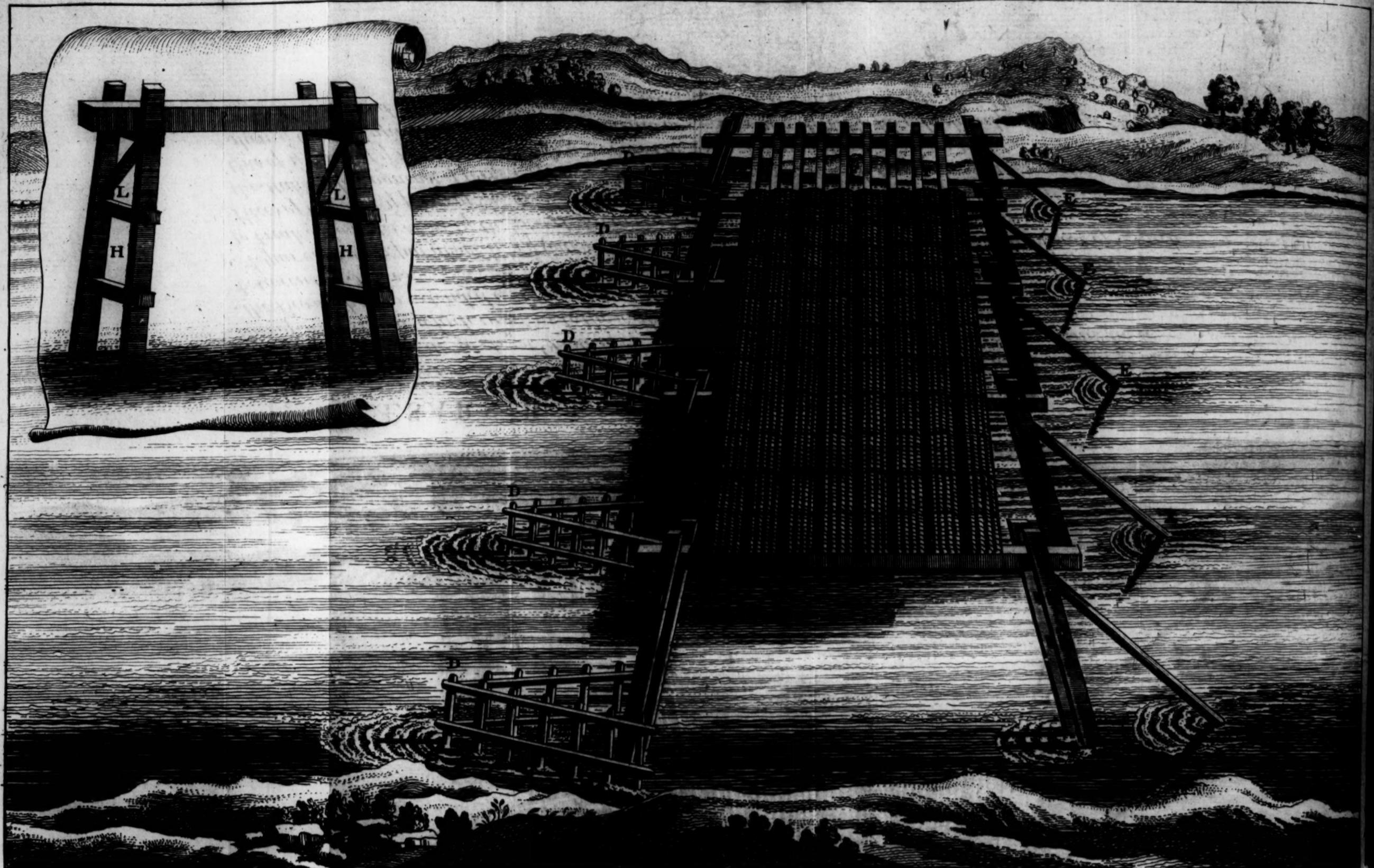
Ant. C.

55.

The reasons alledged by Cæsar are nevertheless not altogether void of solidity. The first, and, according to him, the most just, was, that seeing the Germans so easily brought themselves to pass Rhine, and come into Gaul, he was glad to let them know, that they might also fear to see the enemy in their territories. Moreover, the cavalry of the Ubii and Tencteri, who were not found in the battle, because they had been sent several days before on the other side the Meuse to plunder the country, bring away forage, had retreated after the victory of Cæsar beyond the Rhine among the Sicambri: the Victor having demanded that these fugitives should be delivered up to him, the Sicambri answered that the Rhine bounded the Roman Dominions, and that if the Romans pretended to prohibit the passage of the Germanic nations, they ought to submit to the same law, and not to arrogate to themselves any right or authority beyond that river. Lastly the Ubii, continually harrassed by the Suevi, desired Cæsar to shew himself in Germany, maintaining, that step alone would be sufficient to procure their repose ever after. They even offered the Roman boats to transport their Legions.

Cæsar thought he ought not to accept the offer of the Ubii. He looked upon it that there was neither safety nor dignity for himself and the Roman army to pass in boats. The building a bridge on a river rapid, so wide, and so deep, (for it was below the place where Cologn is built that he prepared to pass it) was, without doubt, a work of great difficulty. But Cæsar, accustomed to vanquish all obstacles, attempted the undertaking, and succeeded in it.

I shall here insert the description which he gives of this bridge, only adding some circumstances which he has left to be supplied; but which to me seem to be necessary éclaircissements. If I am mistaken in anything, I hope I shall be excused as a writer obliged by the necessity of his subject to speak of matters widely distant from his profession; but at the same time



CÆSAR'S Bridge over the Rhine near Cologn.

- A Pair of Stakes above, which incline towards y^e other, that are below, at 40 Feet Distance.
- B Pair of Stakes below, which incline to those above.
- C The Beam that is extended in the Interval between the Stakes.
- D A Spur or Stacado, put above in y^e Course of y^e River to break off whatever may obstruct its Current.
- E Pieces of Wood in y^e form of Buttresses to support the Stakes below against y^e force of the Water.
- F One of y^e Ends of y^e Bridge, w^{ch} is left uncovered to shew y^e Girders upon which y^e Poles, Fascines or Hurdles, are laid which serve to cover y^e Bridge.
- G Pairs of Stakes, which are presented in front, the better to shew their Structure and how they are fastened.
- H The Distance from one Stake to another, which is two feet, just equal to y^e Bigness of y^e Beam.
- I Pieces of Wood across, the uppermost of which supports the Beam, and the other serves to join the Stakes together, being stopt at each end by Pegs, which press the Stakes against the Beam, to keep it more tight.
- L Two little Props which help the cross Piece of Wood to bear up the Beam.

time very willing to correct himself, if the masters of the art will vouchsafe to point out his errors.

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There were joined together stakes in pairs, at the distance of two feet from one another, each a foot and a half thick, and of a length proportioned to the depth of the river, and after they were sharpened at the ends, and perhaps armed with iron, when they went down into the water with machines, afterwards they were drove in with strokes of the rammer, not perpendicularly, but inclined according to the direction of the river. Over-against these two stakes, and below them, at the distance of forty feet, were drove in two others in like manner, which faced the first; and were inclined in one sense contrary to the current of the river. These two piles, each composed of two stakes, were kept firm by a large beam, extended from one to the other, and which being two feet in thickness, exactly filled the interval of the two stakes, and had for support the piece of wood that joined them. The heads of this beam were confined and made fast on each side by large pegs or pins of iron, one in the inside and the other without, so that the two piles could not be drawn together, and the two iron pins which fastened the beam to each pile mutually resisting one another, the building was so firm, that by the laws of nature, the more rapid the river became, the more solidity the work gained. This is what I think the most difficult to comprehend of any part of the description. I must even confess that there is nothing that I can imagine, which fully satisfies me; therefore I leave this problem to be solved by those who are more able than myself. Besides the difficulty of the thing in itself, there seems moreover to be a contradiction between what Cæsar says here, and the precaution with which he speaks afterwards of fixing buttresses to support the bridge against the violence of the flood. This precaution seems superfluous, if the rapidity of the river augmented the solidity of the work. After this first row, another was fixed at some distance; and

after-

A. R. 697. afterwards upon the beams, which were laid along according to the current of the stream, were laid across poles, hurdles, and without doubt earth and turfs, to form a solid and continued floor. Below the bridge * other stakes were sunk in the form of buttresses, which supported the bridge against the violence of the water, and above, at some distance, there were others to serve for a defence. So that if the barbarians let loose trunks of trees, or boats to overthrow the works, this palisade should stop the effect, and prevent their damaging the bridge.

The speed with which so great a work was executed was not less worthy of admiration, than the work itself. It was compleated in ten days, reckoning from that in which they began to bring the timber to the banks of the river. Cæsar having left a considerable body of troops at the head of the bridge on each side, entered into the territories of the Sicambri.

His exploits in Germany may be reduced to a narrow compass. He received there the deputies of some people who desired peace and friendship with him, which he granted them, after exacting hostages from them. The Sicambri retired into the deserts and forests ; he ravaged their country, burnt their houses, and cut down their corn. The Suevi had done as much as the Sicambri with this difference, that, after they had put their wives, and children, and all that they possessed in safety, they assembled together, in the heart of the country, all that made the strength of the nation, that is to say, those who were in a condition to bear arms ; and there they waited for the Roman army, resolved to give them a good reception. Cæsar did not think proper to go and attack them. He pretended, that he had answered all the different views he had in passing the Rhine, since he had spread

* The text has it, "towards a lower part of the river," a vague expression, and which may give room for an interpretation different from that which I have followed. One may conceive the stakes here spoken of, as placed before the last row of piles, and supporting them on the sides where they inclined to, that they might serve as a fore wall to break the force of the stream.

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the terror of his name in Germany, had revenged himself of the Sicambri, and deliver'd the Ubii from the oppression of the Suevi. Therefore he continued but eighteen days on the other side the river, after which he repass'd it, and broke down his bridge; gaining from his enterprize the frivolous glory of having done that which no Roman ever attempted before him.

His taste for things that made a noise inspired him immediately after with another project of the same kind as the preceding, and of as little use. This was the going over into Great Britain, and carrying the war into a new world; for it was upon this foot that Great Britain was then regarded, so little known at that time, that many yet doubted whether it was an Island or not; and, according to Tacitus, there was no certainty of it till above an hundred years after, when the Roman fleet, by order of Agricola, went round it. Cæsar, nevertheless, every where speaks of it as an Island; and such also is the language and opinion of Strabo, an able and judicious Geographer, who wrote in the beginning of the reign of Tiberius.

Cæsar coloured the ambition which carried him into Great Britain under the pretext of justice and utility. He said that the Britons had almost always sent succours to the Gauls in their wars against the Romans; and he added, that it would be very advantageous to him to know the ports and coasts of this island, the manners of the inhabitants, and their method of fighting. Now, this was what he could not do, without going over thither himself. For the Gauls had no knowledge of it, but what was very confused, because there were only their Merchants who had any voyages thither, and they did not penetrate far into the country, so that they had no precise idea but of the ports wherein they carried on their trade. I know not of what utility to Cæsar the knowledge could be, that he desired to gain of all that regarded Great Britain, if he had not in his mind the design of one day making the conquest of it; but the Gauls at the present gave him no leisure to do it.

To

A. R. 697. To these motives Suetonius adds one very frivo-
 Ant. C. lous; which was the passion he had for the pearls pro-
 55. duced in the British ocean. The extravagant luxury
 Suet. Cæs. of Cæsar might authorize such a suspicion; but on all
 55. accounts he was much deceived in such an attempt.
 These pearls are dark and cloudy, and do not at all
 come near to that fine water which sets a value upon
 those of the East.

Tacit.
B. 12.

The season was already far advanced, when Cæsar formed the project we are speaking of. This was a new spur added to his natural activity. He came therefore with all speed into the country of the Morini, from whence he knew the passage was the shortest to go over to Great Britain. He got together all the vessels that was possible from the neighbouring countries, and sent the fleet that he had caused to be built the year before for the war against the Veneti. As he had not less foresight than vivacity and fire, he endeavoured to inform himself of every thing of importance concerning the country he prepared to enter; and but little satisfied with the lights that he could obtain from the Gauls, he sent a Roman Officer, named C. Volufenus, with a man of war, to visit the coasts of Great Britain, and afterwards to come himself and make a report of all he had seen and observed. Volufenus was five days at sea, and not daring to go ashore in any place, he could only give an account of the outward parts and approaches to the island.

In the mean time a rumour of Cæsar's design had spread itself in Great Britain, and giving an alarm, several people sent him Deputies, to make their submission, and offered to give him hostages. Cæsar was of opinion that he should make his advantage of this favourable disposition; he answered the Deputies of the Barbarians graciously, and sent them back into their country, accompanied by Comius the Artesian, whom he had made King of his nation, and in whom he had at that time much confidence. This Comius, whose name was known and considered in Great Britain,

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Britain, had orders to go through the different people, to exhort them to acknowledge the Roman Empire, and to declare the approaching arrival of Cæsar.

The care of getting together the fleet kept Cæsar some time in the country of the Morini. His presence was not ineffectual. This nation had always hitherto obstinately refused to submit themselves. Now the greatest part of the Cantons that composed it, came by their Deputies to ask pardon for what was past, and declared that they would obey him in all that he should order for the time to come. Nothing could have happened to him more *à propos*. Charmed with not leaving behind him any subject of uneasiness while he should be in Great Britain, he received the submission of the Morini, and contented himself with exacting from them many hostages.

The fleet of Cæsar consisted in long vessels, as he called them, that is to say, Gallies armed for war, and in ships of burthen that went with sails. He embarked two Legions upon fourscore ships of burthen; but he does not tell us what number of troops went on board the gallies, which he distributed in squadrons under the command of the Quæstor, and of his Lieutenant-Generals. For transporting the cavalry he destined eighteen ships of burthen, which were detained by the wind in a part situated eight thousand paces above that where he appeared himself. He does not name here either one or the other of these ports: But if that * from whence he departed this year was Port Itius, where he embarked the year following to make the same voyage, the lower port seems to be Wiffan, and the upper Calais. At his embarking himself he left a Lieutenant-General with troops to guard the port; and he sent the rest of his army under the command of two other Lieutenant-Generals, Titurius Sabinus, and Aurunculeius Cotta, into the Cantons of the Morini, who had not yet submitted, and upon the lands of the Menapii.

* The thing is probable in itself, and Strabo puts it out of doubt, Book IV. p. 199.

A. R. 697. All the dispositions being made, Cæsar took the
 Ant. C. advantage of a favourable wind to go out of the port.
 55. He went away about midnight, and sent his cavalry to embark at another port, with orders to follow immediately: But he was very ill obeyed in this part of his commands. As to himself, rowing at the head of his fleet, he began to see land towards the fourth hour of the day. The shore that he discovered was not proper for a descent. It was commanded by downs, from the top of which darts might be thrown to the very edge of the water, and all these downs were covered with troops of Barbarians. He therefore ordered his people to drop anchor, and wait till all the other ships should join them. At the ninth hour, assisted at the same time by wind and tide, he advanced eight thousand paces farther, and found an easy and even shore, where he resolved to land.

The Barbarians had not lost sight of the Roman fleet, and having sent their cavalry before and their chariots, (for chariots were in use among them in their battles) they brought their infantry with all the diligence they could to be time enough to oppose the landing, with all their forces. The Roman vessels drew too much water for them to be able to approach the shore, so that the soldiers were to throw themselves into the water. It may be easily conceived, how much troops heavily armed, accustomed to fight upon firm and solid land, and who were not used to places where there were waters of any depth, had a disadvantage against the agile and brisk Barbarians encumbered with nothing, and who knew the places perfectly well.

Their courage began to fail the Romans. The person who bore the eagle of the tenth Legion re-animated them. As he saw his comrades dared not throw themselves into the water, the depth of which dismayed them, "Follow me, cried he to them, if you would not have this eagle fall into the hands of the Barbarians." In pronouncing these words, he jumped himself the first out of the vessel. The dread

of

of the ignominy overcame that of the danger, and all the others followed. At the same time Cæsar filled the skiffs and light frigates with soldiers to go and assist those who fought in the water; and moreover what principally contributed to the success of this descent, was that he ordered the gallies to make a motion to take the enemy in flank, and cast upon them a shower of darts with machines in use among the Romans, but entirely unknown to these Islanders; so that besides the number of men they lost, the very sight of these strange machines struck them with a horrible fear. At length, after many pains and dangers, the Romans gained the shore; and as soon as they had set their feet on land, they pushed the Barbarians so vigorously, that they absolutely dispersed them: But as Cæsar's cavalry was not yet arrived, it was impossible to pursue them.

The Barbarians were easily discouraged. Thus these same people, who came with so much vigour to oppose the descent of the Roman army, not being able to succeed in it, sent Deputies to Cæsar, who were ordered to make all manner of protestations of submission and obedience. They restored to him also Comius King of the Artesians, whom they had kept prisoner. Cæsar heard them with mildness, and required hostages of them. Every thing seemed to be in the way to peace and a good agreement. But it was fear alone that guided these Barbarians; and an opportunity presenting itself to contravene their engagements, and to renew the war, they would not let it slip.

The fourth day after Cæsar's arrival in Great Britain, they perceived from the camp the eighteen ships of burthen which brought the cavalry. But a furious tempest arose at that instant, which dispersed a part of them in the Channel, where they run very great danger, and found themselves happy to be able to gain the *terra firma*.

The night of this same day it was full moon, and approaching the Equinox. The concurrence of these

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two circumstances produced very high tides. Cæsar knew nothing of this, and had taken no precaution against a danger that he was ignorant of. Thus, both the gallies that were dry upon the shore, and the transports that were at anchor, were raised up, tossed about, and beat to pieces by the waves, without there being a possibility to apply any remedy to so great an evil. This accident threw Cæsar into great perplexity. His return became, as it were, impossible, since he had no other ships than those which had been lately so ill treated, and which wanted every thing necessary to refit them. On the other hand, having reckoned to winter in Gaul, he had brought with him neither baggage, nor sufficient provisions of corn.

The Barbarians seeing their enemies without ships, without provisions, and without cavalry, conceive the hope of exterminating them, and making the Romans for ever lay aside thoughts of entering into the Island. Besides, they judged of the small number of Cæsar's troops, by the little space of ground his camp took up; and although this was not a certain sign because the Roman army, as I have already said, had no baggage, yet they were not much deceived, as they really had a great superiority in numbers. They began therefore to league anew, and gather together privately in bodies of troops, concealing their design by not declaring themselves openly; but waiting for favourable moment, to surprize the Romans, and fall upon them with advantage.

But Cæsar was not an enemy to be easily surprized. The situation in which he was, made him foretell what the Barbarians ought to think and do; and as they gave over sending him hostages, the proof of the revolt was plain. Therefore he prepared himself for the event. He sent every day to cut corn in the field, and made stores of it in his camp. He sacrificed the ships that were the most damaged, and took the timber and the iron of them to refit those that were the least so, causing other materials and instruments necessary for the work to be brought from the *terra firma*. By

the

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these means he made up the loss of twelve ships, and put the rest in a condition to keep at sea.

In the mean time, the Barbarians found the opportunity they sought. They had observed, that all the country about being reaped, there remained but one place where the Romans could come to cut corn. They posted themselves in the neighbourhood, lying in ambush in a forest; and Cæsar, as they had foreseen, having sent the seventh Legion into the quarter that they encompassed, while the Roman soldiers dispersed themselves on the plain, with only sickles in their hands instead of swords, and thought of nothing but reaping of corn, the Barbarians sallied briskly from their coverts, attacked the foragers, killed some of them, and brought trouble and confusion among the rest. They even undertook to hem them in, by extending their chariots of war about them. This was the manner of their using these chariots in their battle.

They began with driving them with impetuosity quite cross the ranks of the enemy; and when they had penetrated into the intervals, they jumped upon the ground and fought on foot. During this time the equerries went at a little distance, but were always near enough to take up their masters, if they saw them too much pressed. Cæsar, it seems, did not despise this manner of fighting, which united, he said, the lightness of the horsemen with the stability of the foot. For the rest, they had a surprizing address and agility, accustomed by long use, either to stop their horses going down a steep road full speed, or to turn short when they wanted space. They were oftentimes seen getting out of the chariots sliding along the beam, and posting themselves at the end of it, then in an instant regaining their chariot, and appearing in their seats.

The Roman Legion thus assailed could not have saved itself, if succour had not come to it. But the advanced guard of the camp observing a cloud of dust on the side where they knew it went, they gave notice

A. R. 697. of it to Cæsar, who lost not a moment. He took with
Ant. C. him immediately the two cohorts which were the
55. guard, and after having ordered two others to replace
them, and all the rest of the troops to arm themselves
with speed and follow him; he marched to the place
where the battle was fought. He found his people
in bad order, and very much troubled to defend them-
selves. His presence re-established every thing, stopt
the rage of the enemy, and re-animated the courage
of the Romans. Nevertheless, he did not judge it
proper to provoke the Barbarians too far, and contented
himself to carry his Legions back to the camp.

The Islanders had the boldness to come and attack
him there at the end of a few days, during which they
had strengthened and increased their troops. Cæsar,
who had no cavalry, saw very well that he could not
gain an advantage over them altogether decisive.
However, he was not willing to refuse the combat,
but endeavoured to aid himself by thirty horsemen
that Comius the Artesian had brought with him, and
went out of his intrenchments to give battle. The
event was as he had foreseen. The enemy fled, but
with very little loss. The Romans only laid every
thing waste in the places about, and burnt some of
their villages.

This was enough to determine the Barbarians to re-
new the negotiation which they had broken off. On
the same day Cæsar saw the Deputies arrive, who
came to demand peace of him. This was what he
desired. He feared the approach of the equinox,
the time when the sea grows outrageous, and his ships
were not in a condition to resist a storm. He there-
fore laid hold of the opportunity to retreat with ho-
nour, by ordering them to furnish him with a number
of hostages double to that he had stipulated for the first
time, and that they should bring them to him in
Gaul. The Islanders imagined that they should be
the masters of the execution of such a treaty. They
promised every thing to get these troublesome stran-
gers out of their island, who, on their side, were very
desirous

desirous to go away. Immediately after the treaty was concluded, Cæsar made ready in the first fair weather, and went back into Gaul.

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Some cantons of the Morini and Menapii still persisted in their obstinacy, and refused to acknowledge the Romans for masters. Cæsar ordered them to be attacked by his Lieutenants, who could not yet make an end of subduing them. He established all his winter-quarters in the country of the Belgæ, and received their hostages from two of the people with whom he had made war in Great-Britain. All the others made no account of their engagements. And this was all the fruit that Cæsar had from an expedition, which was hazardous, and wherein he risked a great deal more than he could gain ; for all the Island was at that time very poor, without gold or silver ; and all the booty he could hope for, were gross and brutal prisoners. For an object so small did he expose himself, as we have seen, to dangers as great as ever he ran in his life. Nevertheless, he made a great vaunting of the advantages he had obtained in a country, and over a people, the existence of whom was scarce known before him ; and the noise of it was so great in Rome, that they decreed in honour of him, thanksgivings to the Gods for twenty days.

Cic. ad Fam. VII.
7. & ad Att. IV.
16.

S E C T. III.

Cæsar makes preparations for his return into Great-Britain. Before he passes over, he reduces the Treviri, who meditated a revolt. He takes with him all the prime nobility of Gaul. Dumnorix, refusing to go, is killed. Cæsar's passage, and exploits in Great-Britain. He grants peace to the conquered nations, and returns to Gaul. He finds it quiet in appearance, and puts his legions into winter-quarters. Tasgetius, King of the Carnutes, a friend of the Romans, is assassinated. Ambiorix, King of the Eburones, joining treachery to open force, entirely destroys a Roman legion, and five cohorts,

borts, that wintered in his territories. Ambiorix sirs up the Atuatichi and the Nervii, who attack Q. Cicero. Vigorous defence of the Romans. Singular example of military emulation between two Roman Centurions. Cæsar comes to Cicero's assistance, with a dispatch worthy of admiration. The Gauls, to the number of sixty thousand, are vanquished and put to flight by Cæsar, who had but seven thousand men with him. Grief and mourning of Cæsar, for his legion exterminated by Ambiorix. He passes the winter in Gaul, which was all over in motion. Indutiomarus, King of the Treviri, is killed in a fight with Labienus.

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54.

Cæs. de
B. G. I. 5.

L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS II.

AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

CÆSAR considered only as an experiment what he had hitherto performed in Great-Britain. Some moderate advantages, and a treaty that was never carried into execution, did in no sort content his ambition. He resolved then to return with greater force; and therefore ordered his Lieutenant-Generals, when he set out for Italy, to build during his absence as many ships of war, and transports, as they possibly could; directing even the form that he judged most proper for the navigation of those seas.

His winter was not idle. He employed it, partly in holding the assemblies in Cisalpine Gaul; partly in an expedition to Illyricum, where his presence was necessary to put a stop to the incursions of the Pirustæ. The Pirustæ were a people of Illyricum, who had ravaged the Roman province; that is to say, that part of Illyricum which acknowledged the Roman government. Cæsar was put to no other trouble, than that of appearing in the country, to compel these Barbarians to give hostages, and make satisfaction for the damage they had caused.

At his return to Gaul, he found a great deal of work done. The old vessels were all refitted, and twenty ships of war new-built, with about six hundred

dred transports. He orders the whole fleet to rendezvous A. R. 69³. at Port Itius : and as the Treviri seemed to project a rebellion, and were even reported to sollicit the Germans to pass the Rhine to their assistance, he marches into their territories with four legions and eight hundred horse ; being desirous to quiet Gaul before he engaged in his enterprize against Great-Britain. Ant. C. 54.

The Treviri were a potent nation, and had a numerous cavalry ; but they were embroiled at home. Two competitors, Cingetorix and Indutiomarus, disputed the first rank, and chief authority. Cingetorix, who probably was the weaker, puts himself under Cæsar's protection ; assuring him of his, and his party's attachment to the Romans. Indutiomarus, on the contrary, assembles his forces ; and, having sheltered the women and children in the forest of Arden, prepares for war. But the terror of Cæsar's arms, and the sollicitation of Cingetorix, having deprived him of many of his partizans ; fearing he should be abandoned, he found it necessary to submit. Cæsar, who had no mind to be kept long in that country, took his excuses, and granted him peace : he insisted, however, on his giving him two hundred hostages, among whom was his son. Indutiomarus, already discontented, was moreover extremely piqued by the careesses which Cæsar bestowed on Cingetorix, and by the pains he took to procure him the goodwill of the chief among his countrymen. He withdraws them in anger, resolved to renew the war the first opportunity.

Cæsar, who thought him not capable of doing any hurt, at least for some time, returned to Port Itius ; where he found, as he had ordered, four thousand Gaulish horse, and all the prime nobility of the nation. His design was to take with him these nobles of the first rank, by way of hostages ; and to leave behind him in Gaul but a very few, on whose fidelity he could rely. Dumnorix the Æduan, of whom much has been said, was of the number of those intended to make the voyage. Cæsar distrusted him much ;

A. R. 69⁸. knowing him to be a man who had capacity, and
 Ant. C. power, and inclination too, to be troublesome. The
 54. Æduan would fain have excused himself from going,
 by various pretences ; sometimes he was afraid of the
 sea ; sometimes the ties of religion constrained him
 to stay at home. When he found his reasons had no
 weight with Cæsar, he began to cabal among the
 Gaulish Nobility ; telling them, that Cæsar's inten-
 tion was undoubtedly to destroy them all ; and that,
 as he dared not execute this project in Gaul, he was
 now carrying them into a strange country, where he
 might find an opportunity of sacrificing them to his
 cruel policy.

However criminal such a conduct appeared to Cæ-
 sar, he still kept fair with Dumnorix, or rather with
 his Nation ; for whom he had great esteem, and
 whom he apprehended he might irritate, by shedding
 the blood of one who was in a manner their chief :
 determined notwithstanding to continue inflexible ; and
 to prefer to every other consideration the interest of
 the Roman Commonwealth, and the tranquillity of
 Gaul. During twenty-five days that he was detained
 in port by a north-west wind, he contented himself
 with using, with Dumnorix, the ways of exhortation
 and persuasion ; having him well watched all the time,
 by those he could depend on, who gave an account
 of every step he took. At length, the weather being
 favourable, Cæsar gave orders to embark. Every
 one knows the confusion, and the multiplicity of cares
 that take up the thoughts, on such an occasion.
 Dumnorix took the advantage of it, and retired with
 the Æduan cavalry. As soon as Cæsar was informed
 of it, he suspended his departure ; and laying every
 other business aside, detached a large party of horse
 to pursue him ; with orders to bring him back, if
 he would return to his duty ; or, if he resisted, to
 kill him. Dumnorix's obstinacy compelled them to
 execute the latter. He insisted, that being himself
 free, and of a nation that enjoyed its liberty, they
 could not force him to march against his consent.

Cæsar's

Cæsar's soldiers thereupon followed their directions : A.R. 698.
Dumnorix was killed ; and the Æduan cavalry, hav- Ant. C.
ing lost their leader, returned without scruple to the
Roman camp. 54

Cæsar, freed from all other cares, turned all his thoughts now to his passage. He left Labienus on the continent, with three legions and two thousand horse, to secure the ports and the coast of the Morini. He embarked on his fleet the same number of cavalry, and five legions : and, having set sail, towards sunset, he was retarded by some accidents ; so that he came not in sight of Great-Britain 'till next day at noon. He extols the vigour of his soldiers in the voyage, who rowed the transports with such activity and strength, as equalled the expedition of the vessels with sails.

He landed at the same place he had debarked, the year before ; and was surprized to find nobody to oppose him. The great number of his vessels, which exceeded eight hundred, frightened, it seems, these Islanders, who had retired to their hills.

After Cæsar had compleated the debarkation, without trouble or danger, his first care was to fortify a camp, in which he left ten cohorts, and three hundred horse, under the command of a general officer ; with the rest of his army he advanced in the country towards the enemy. But he had scarce essayed their strength in a slight skirmish, when he received news, that his ships, which lay at anchor, had been considerably damaged by a violent storm. He returned immediately to the sea-side ; and resolved, to prevent the like accidents, to draw all his vessels ashore, and inclose them in the same intrenchments with his camp. This was indeed a great undertaking : but his soldiers set about it with so much courage, working day and night without intermission, that the work was finished in ten days ; and Cæsar, having left orders for refitting the damaged vessels, went back again to attack the Barbarians.

A. R. 698. He found their numbers had increased during his
 Ant. C. absence. Many of their nations had entered into an
 54. alliance, and obeyed, as Generalissimo, Cassivellaunus, whose kingdom lay on the other side of the Thames, and who, before Cæsar's arrival, was at war with his neighbours; but the fear of their common enemy had suspended all particular animosities. Several conflicts ensued, in which the Islanders chariots much incommoded Cæsar's cavalry. However, as the Romans were in the end victorious, and continued advancing, Cassivellaunus thought proper to retire behind the Thames, in order to dispute its passage.

There was one only place where the Thames could be forded, and even there with much difficulty; which the Barbarians had encreased by fortifying their side of the river with sharp stakes; which they had also planted in the channel so deep that they did not appear above water. Cæsar was informed thereof by the prisoners and deserters; he undertook notwithstanding to pass the river, even thus defended. His troops seconded his order; and, though nothing but their heads was above the water, advanced toward the enemy with such vigour and boldness, that, unable to sustain the shock, they fled, and dispersed, like a flight of timorous birds.

Cassivellaunus from that time determined to avoid a general action: and, ordering his forces to separate, kept with him only four thousand chariots, with which he watched opportunities to fall on the stragglers; or else, when he had enticed the Romans into a disadvantageous place, by the prospect of booty, he quitted his ambuscade, and put them into disorder by an unforeseen attack. These methods succeeded so well to him, that Cæsar was obliged to order his cavalry to keep always so near the foot, that they might be supported by them, if necessary; and he wasted not the country faster than his infantry could advance.

Mean while several nations in those regions submitted to Cæsar. The * Trinobantes were the first. Their King, Imanuentius, had been killed by Cassivellaunus; and Mandubratius, son of that unfortunate Prince, was in Cæsar's army; to whom he fled, even into Gaul, for shelter and protection. Gaul was then the asylum of the dispossessed and persecuted British Kings. The Trinobantes had retained their loyalty to Mandubratius, and desired Cæsar to send him back to govern them. They obtained their request; and, when they had supplied the Romans with corn, and delivered forty hostages, Cæsar not only spared, but even protected, their country. Five neighbouring nations, seeing the Trinobantes found so good an account in the party they had espoused, followed their example: and the Roman General, having learnt from these new friends that the capital of Cassivellaunus was not far off, resolved to attack it. That city was very different from what we now call a city. The Britons gave that name to a wood fenced with a ditch and rampart, where they retired with their flocks from the incursions of their enemies. Though Cassivellaunus's town was fortified by art and nature, it made no resistance. Cæsar having stormed it in two places at once, the Barbarians fled by a part which was unattacked, and left their cattle, their whole wealth, to the conqueror.

Cassivellaunus despaired not yet; but, desirous of making a last attempt, sent directions to four petty Princes of Kent, to surprize and burn the Roman fleet. This would have been a *coup d' éclat*; but they did not succeed; and one of the chiefs, named † Lugotorix, was made prisoner. Such a series of ill success discouraged at last Cassivellaunus. He had then recourse to the mediation of Comius, King of the

* They inhabited the left shore, to the north of the Thames, about London.

† (Mr. Crevier seems to be mistaken in the name. Cæsar in his Commentaries calls him Cingetorix. *Capto etiam nobili duce Cingetorice.* B. G. l. 5. § 18.)

A.R. 69³. Atrebates, to obtain peace from Cæsar; and was easily prevailed on to grant it. The weather began to grow bad, and the motions of the Gauls made him uneasy. He demanded of the Britons hostages; imposed on them a tribute, which probably was not very regularly paid; and took under his protection Mandubratius and the Trinobantes, strictly forbidding Cassivellaunus to molest them: after which he returned to Gaul, with the glory of * having shewed Great-Britain to the Romans, rather than of having subdued it.

Even Gaul itself was far from being subdued, tho' during two years all had been quiet enough: but the fire was not extinguished, though it lay concealed under the ashes. The desire of recovering their liberty lived yet in the breasts of the Gauls: and, without doubt, Cæsar's absence, who had spent the greatest part of the two last campaigns either in Germany or Great-Britain, had facilitated the means of assembling and taking measures for shaking off his yoke, to a nation who wore it with regret.

Cæsar was unacquainted with this their disposition, as no symptoms of it had yet appeared. At his return from Great-Britain he held, without any disturbance, at † Samarobriva, the general assembly of Gaul: after which he thought he had nothing to do but to establish his winter-quarters. His distribution of them favoured the designs of the Gauls. The summer had been dry, and consequently the crop thin. For this reason Cæsar found it convenient to alter a little his usual method of quartering: and, instead of placing several legions together, as before he had always done, he chose, for the convenience of provisions and forage, to canton them separately one by one. One legion he quartered on the Morini, under the command of C. Fabius, Lieutenant-General:

* Primus omnium Romanorum D. Julius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, —— potest videri Ostendisse posteris, non Tradidisse. TAC.
Agric. n. 13.

† Amiens.

another

another among the Nervii, under Q. Cicero, brother A. R. 698.
of the Orator : a third with the * Eſſui, under L. Ant. C.
Roscius : a fourth in the country of the Rhemi, on
the borders of the Treviri, under Labienus : three
in † Belgium, under three Commanders, M. Crassus,
his Questor, youngest son of the famous Crassus, who
was then preparing to invade the Parthians ; L. Plan-
cūs, and C. Trebonius : and the last and eighth,
which Cæſar had newly raised on the other side of the
Po, was ſent, together with five cohorts, among the
‡ Eburones, between the Rhine and the Meufe, where
Ambiorix and Cativulcus reigned ; at the head of this
last corps were two Lieutenant Generals, Titurius Sa-
binus and Aurunculeius Cotta. Cæſar, though he
thus extended his quarters, had nevertheless took care
that they ſhould not be too diſtant from one another :
for, Roscius alone excepted, who wintered in a friendly,
quiet country, all the other quarters were com-
prehended in a ſpace of § an hundred miles, that is to ſay,
of about thirty-five leagues. He had, beſides, the
precaution not to ſet out too ſoon on his customary
winter's expedition to Italy ; but resolved to defer it
till he had received advice from all his Lieutenant-
Generals, and was affured that their quarters were
established, fortified, and ſecured.

An unexpected event obliged Cæſar to withdraw
from Belgium one of the legions placed there. The
Carnutes had for King Tasgetius, a friend to the
Romans. This prince was publickly affaffinated by
his enemies, supported by a powerful party in the

* This name is not known. Perhaps Eſſui, Eufubii, Sesuvii, are
only different alterations of the name Lexovii, thoſe of Lisieux. Vof-
fus thinks that we ſhould read here, in the text of Cæſar, Ædui,
thoſe of Autun : and that opinion ſeems probable too.

† Belgium is not the ſame thing as Belgic Gaul. It is only a part
of it, which may be conſidered as answering to what we call Picardy.

‡ The country of Liege.

§ From one end of the quarters to the other, there is more than an
hundred miles. Perhaps Cæſar conceives a centre, from whence the
moſt diſtant quarters may not extend further than the ſpace here
mentioned.

|| Thoſe of Chartres.

nation.

A. R. 698. nation. Cæsar, apprehensive that this might be the
 Ant. C. signal of a revolt, ordered Plancus to go and winter
 54. in that country with his legion.

Scarce fifteen days had elapsed since the arrival of the legions in their different quarters, when the general conspiracy of the Gauls broke out in the revolt of the Eburones. Their two Chiefs, or Kings, Ambiorix and Cativulcus, had been to meet Sabinus and Cotta in a friendly manner, and had supplied them with corn. But on a sudden falling on a small number of Roman soldiers, who were cutting of wood and making fascines, they cut them in pieces; and afterwards attacked the camp where the legion was intrenched. Repulsed with loss, they have recourse to cunning and perfidy.

Ambiorix, having demanded and obtained to have somebody sent to confer with him, made a most artful speech; which, coming from a Barbarian Prince, is a proof that nature alone is sufficient to instruct men in the art of treachery: "He protested he had in no sort forgot his obligations to Cæsar; who had rescued him from the yoke of the Atuatichi; and who had restored him his son and nephew, which that people having received as hostages treated as slaves. That the hostilities he had lately committed were by no means the effect of his own private animosity to the Romans, but of the general desire of his nation, which he had not been able to divert. That the government in Gaul was such, that the People had occasionally as much power over their Kings, as the Kings over their People. That he could say this in excuse of his nation, that they had done nothing, in taking this sudden resolution, but conform to the general sense of all Gaul. That all Gaul had agreed to storm in one day, the very day on which he spoke, all the quarters of the Roman army; so that no one might be able to succour another. That he could appeal to his own weakness for the truth of what he related. That he well knew the Eburones were no match for the Romans. But that, after having performed

A.R. 692.
Act. C.
54

formed what the common voice of his country demanded, he thought he was at liberty to listen to that of gratitude. That he found himself compelled by his attachment to Cæsar, and by his friendship for Sabinus, to give notice of the extreme danger to which the legion designed to winter in his country was exposed. That a great body of Germans had actually passed the Rhine, and would be there in two days at farthest. That Sabinus and Cotta were to consider whether it was not proper for them to retire, and go and join Labienus, or Cicero. That, as for himself, he engaged by all that was sacred to secure their retreat through his dominions. And that he undertook this the more readily, as he should thereby reap a double advantage ; that of manifesting his gratitude to Cæsar, and that of delivering his country from the inconvenience of wintering the Romans."

This harangue of Ambiorix, having been reported to the two Lieutenant-Generals, occasioned a difference of opinion, and in consequence a sharp contest, between them. Cotta would not hear of quitting the winter-quarters, in which Cæsar had placed them, without his express order for it. He alledged, "That, as they were in no want of provisions, they should be able to sustain the attack of the Germans, at least till such time as they could be succoured by the neighbouring legions. And that nothing could be more dishonourable, nor injudicious, than to follow the advice of an enemy in an affair of the last importance." On the contrary, Sabinus, who gave entire credit to Ambiorix, pretended, "That the danger was so imminent that they had not a moment to lose ; and that the only way to prevent all the legions being cut in pieces, one after another, was to re-unite several together."

It was in a council of war that this affair was discussed ; and the Officers were divided upon it, as well as the Generals. Those of the first rank and greatest courage, were of Cotta's opinion. But Sabinus obstinately persisted in his, to his own misfortune,

A. R. 698. tune, and that of the troops entrusted to his care. He
 Ant. C. raised his voice, that he might be heard by the sol-
 54. diers without : " You will have your way then," says
 he, in a passion, to Cotta and those of that party ;
 " I must submit : but, if any accident happens, those
 " who hear me will know who is to blame. In two days,
 " would you but consent to it, they might rejoin their
 fellow-soldiers, and share the same fate. But you
 " chuse, by keeping them separate and distinct from
 " the rest of their comrades, to reduce them to the
 " apparent necessity of perishing by sword or famine."

When he had thus spoke, he rose ; and the coun-
 cil was going to separate. But the Officers surround
 their Generals, and conjure them to be reconciled ;
 representing, that whatever resolution was took, whe-
 ther to go, or stay, they should run no great risque ;
 but that their disagreement threatened their troops
 with inevitable destruction. Upon this, the confer-
 ence is resumed ; and the deliberations were prolon-
 ged to midnight. At last Cotta suffered himself to be
 vanquished by importunity ; and, Sabinus having
 carried his point, orders were given for every one to
 be ready to march at day-break. The remainder of
 the night none employed in sleep ; for all were in
 motion, and taken up in choosing what things they
 should carry away with them, and what leave be-
 hind. In short, as Cæsar has observed, they did
 every thing to make their stay more dangerous ; and
 their defence, supposing they should be attacked on
 their march, more precarious. Troops, harrassed for
 want of rest, could not make the most vigorous re-
 sistance ; and besides, relying entirely on the word of
 Ambiorix, they marched in too extended a column ;
 and carried all their heavy baggage with them.

The Eburones, attentive to what passed that night
 in the camp of the Romans, rightly judged, from the
 noise and motion therein observed, that they intended
 to leave it : they thereupon divided their forces into
 two bodies : which they posted at two miles distance,
 about a hollow-way in the road by which the Romans
 must

must retreat. And, when they had imprudently advanced into this valley, the Gauls come out of their ambush, and pour upon them at once in front and rear.

A. R. 698.
Ant. C.
54.

Sabinus, who expected nothing less, was entirely disconcerted. Cotta was not surprized at an event he had foreseen; and began to give orders with great presence of mind, performing at once the duty of General and Soldier. But as the untoward length of the column, formed by the fifteen cohorts, intumbered him; because he could neither see from one end to the other, nor repair expeditiously enough to all the places where his presence was necessary; he ordered, in concert with Sabinus, the troops to abandon their baggage; and to form a circle, facing their adversaries on all sides. Cæsar observes, that this disposition was attended by great inconveniences; it discouraged the soldiers, and augmented the enemy's confidence; and, besides, gave an opportunity to many particulars to leave the fight, in order to fetch from the baggage what they had of most value.

Ambiorix acted on this occasion like an able General: "Fellow-soldiers, cries he to his army, the baggage is our own; this is a considerable advantage gained already; but, before we attend to any thing, let us take care to make our victory complete." His troops obey him; and the Romans, briskly attacked and incommoded by their disadvantageous situation, defend themselves with difficulty, notwithstanding the quality of numbers. Only when they could join the enemy hand to hand, they preserved their superiority, and killed many of them. Ambiorix remedied that inconvenience; he ordered his people not to come so near the Romans, to retire as they advanced, and overwhelm them from afar with a shower of darts. The Romans suffered much by this method of fighting. If any cohort detached itself from the main body, to close with such of the enemy as were within reach, it did them no damage, as they dispersed in a moment;

A. R. 698. moment; and it exposed all the time its own flank
Ant. C. to those who occupied the eminences on either side.

34. And, if the Romans kept all together, their valour became useless, as they had no opportunity to act. In this manner the combat continued, from day-break to the eighth hour. At length, many of the brave Roman Officers being killed or wounded, and Cotta himself having received a blow on the mouth from a sling; Sabinus, who by his timid credulity had been the cause of this disaster, completed the ruin the same way. Perceiving Ambiorix, who was animating his troops, he sent his Interpreter to beg of him quarter for himself and his soldiers. Ambiorix answered That, if Sabinus had a mind to have a conference with him, he was very ready to oblige him; that he hoped he should obtain from his people to spare the lives of the Romans; and that, as to Sabinus himself, he gave his word, no hurt should be done him. Sabinus communicated this answer to Cotta; and would fain have persuaded him to go with him to Ambiorix. But Cotta absolutely refused to treat with an armed enemy. Sabinus, always blind, always inattentive to good advice, takes with him such Officers as were about him, and goes to Ambiorix: who, seeing him approach, ordered him to lay down his arms. The Roman General obeys, and orders his attendants to do the same. The Barbarian Prince spins out the conference, disputing every point, in order to give time to his people to surround Sabinus; and, after having caused him to be murdered by the most horrid perfidy, he returns to charge afresh the Romans at the head of his troops, who by their usual terrible shoutings proclaimed their victory.

It was now no longer a battle, but a Butcher. Cotta and the greatest part of the Romans were killed fighting manfully: the rest retreated to the camp they had just quitted. He who bore the eagle preserved it till he came within reach of the intrenchments, and threw it in; then he returned to the enemy, and was slain fighting bravely before the camp. Those Romans

mans, who survived that day's slaughter, had courage enough to defend their camp 'till night. But finding themselves without resource, and without hope, they killed one another to the last man. A few, who had escaped out of the fight, got by different ways to Labienus's camp, and brought him the news of this sad event.

Meantime Ambiorix, who wanted neither parts nor address, was endeavouring to reap the benefit of his victory. He hastens to his neighbours the Atuanici, and persuades them to revolt. From them he goes to the Nervii, and encourages them, by his example and promises of assistance, to attack Q. Cicero, who had established his winter-quarters in their country. The Nervii, easily induced to follow their inclination, assemble the nations subject to them; and in a short time a formidable army, composed of these people, march against Cicero, with such diligence that they were arrived ere he knew of Sabinus's calamity. Their cavalry, which preceded them, surprised a considerable number of Roman soldiers, who were in the forests cutting wood for firing and the fortifications of their camp. They then advanced with their whole force, and assault Cicero's camp; being repulsed, they renew the attack the next day and the following, with new fury, but no better success.

Cicero's first care was to write to Cæsar, to acquaint him with the danger he was in. But, as the enemy was in possession of all the roads, the couriers dispatched from time to time were always stopped. So that for a while he was without any resource, save that his valour and military skill suggested. He used then all the methods of defence known at that time: all the intervals he had from fighting he employed in building towers, in strengthening his lines, and in adding parapets to his ramparts. The diligence of his soldiers is scarce credible. They worked without failing day and night; even the sick and wounded contributed their part. Cicero himself, though much

A. R. 698. indisposed, directed all, animated all; so that his soldiers were obliged to force him from time to time to take some repose. Ambiorix, having attempted several times in vain to storm the Roman camp, had recourse to the artifice that had so well succeeded with Sabinus. But Cicero would not be the dupe of his cunning, nor listen to his proposals.

The Nervii then undertook to block up the Romans, by constructing lines, whose ditch was fifteen feet deep, and whose rampart eleven high. This was a new sort of work to them; but they had seen something of it in their wars with Cæsar, and the prisoners they had made gave them further instructions. The proper utensils were still wanting. This defect they supplied as well as they could, by cutting the turf with their swords, moving the earth with their hands, and transporting it in their cloaths, instead of sack and gabions. Such was their multitude, that in less than three hours they had finished those lines, which took in a circuit of fifteen miles. To these they added some works and machines, in imitation of the Romans; as towers, long scythes, and galleries.

The Roman soldiers were lodged in huts thatched with straw. This gave the assailants the hint of endeavouring to set the camp on fire. The seventh day of the attack, the wind being high, the Nervii threw into it red-hot balls of clay, and burning javelins. The fire, assisted by the wind, spread every where in an instant; and the adversary, encouraged by the prospect of success, advanced their towers and galleries, and prepared to scale the ramparts. The constancy of the Roman soldiery was such, that though they were in a manner enveloped in flames, and overwhelmed with a shower of darts; though they saw their huts, their baggage, and their whole little fortune was become a prey to the fire; not only no one quitted his post to endeavour to save any thing but even very few of them so much as looked behind them: so intent were they on fighting and repelling the enemy. Their extraordinary valour was rewarded

with success : and, if that day was the most laborious and dangerous to the Romans, it was that also on which their adversaries lost the greatest numbers.

A. R. 69^s.
Ant. C.
54.

Cæsar has thought fit to transmit to posterity a singular instance of emulation between two of his Officers. They were two Centurions, or Captains, named Pulfio and Varenus ; who were perpetually disputing one another the pre-eminence in courage. In the heat of the last-related battle Pulfio thus challenged Varenus : “ Behold, says he, we have now an opportunity of determining our old difference. Let us see now which of us two can give the best proofs of valour.” So saying, he leaps out of the intrenchment, and advances to attack a large body of the enemy. Varenus, piqued in honour, follows him at a small distance. Pulfio presently kills one of the Nervii, but is soon after surrounded. Varenus runs up and disengages him ; but soon falls into the same danger from which he had just extricated his rival ; and is in his turn disengaged by him. Thus the two competitors mutually owed their lives to each other ; and the prize of valour continued undecided.

The defence, however, of the Roman camp became every day more difficult and hazardous, on account of the great numbers wounded ; and Cæsar had yet heard nothing from them, none of Cicero’s messengers having been able to get to him. At last a Gaulish slave, bribed by a promise of freedom, undertook to carry a letter of advice, escaped the vigilance of the Nervii by similitude of dress and language, and happily delivered it to Cæsar. Cæsar does not inform us where he then was, but he could not be at a great distance. Nothing seems to me more worthy of admiration in Cæsar, than his rapid expedition, scarce inferior to the progress of lightning. He received Cicero’s letter an hour before sun-set. Immediately he sends orders to M. Crassus, who was among the Bellovaci, to march his legion at midnight to join him. He dispatches a courier to C. Fabius, who wintered with the Morini, to order him to lead his legion into

A. R. 69^{8.} the country of the Atrebates, which lay in the way to
 Ant. C. Cicero. He writes to Labienus to go into the territory of the Nervii. He himself in the mean time assembled about four hundred horse. The next day at the third hour, he had advice of Crassus's approach. That day he marched twenty miles. Fabius joined him at the appointed place. But Labienus, whom the Treviri, encouraged by the victory of Ambiorix, were upon the point of attacking, esteemed it too hazardous to quit his station; and informed Caesar of the obstacles which prevented his obeying. At the same time he sent him the first relation of Sabinus's disaster.

Cæsar approved of Labienus's conduct; though he found himself thereby reduced to two legions, instead of having three, which he had depended on. He did not however abandon his enterprize; well knowing that the timeliness of the succour was what was most essential in these circumstances. He made forced marches; and sends before a Gaulish horseman with a letter to Cicero, by which he informed him of his approach; but which was wrote in Greek, that, if it fell into the enemies hands, it might not be intelligible to them. This Gaul was ordered, in case he found it impracticable, to penetrate himself into the Roman camp, to tie the letter to a javelin, and throw it in. This he executed; and the javelin, by an accident stuck in a tower, and remained there two days unperceived. On the third a soldier saw it, took it down, and brought it to Cicero; who immediately read it in full assembly, and diffused the common joy through the whole camp. At the same time they perceived the smoke of the villages fired by Cæsar in his march, which put the arrival of the succour beyond all doubt.

The Gauls were also informed of it by their scouts, and thereupon thought proper to quit Cicero, and go to meet Cæsar. Their army consisted of above six thousand men. Cicero immediately acquainted his General with their march; and the next day Cæsar

himself saw them on the other side of an hollow-way A. R. 69⁸.
with a river in front. As he had now no longer any Ant. C.
reason to be in a hurry, he incamped in the place he
then was, and prepared for the fight. 54.

His legions were by no means compleat, making both together scarce seven thousand effective men. To try his fortune with so extremely unequal a force, was to run a great hazard; yet he took that resolution: all the advantage he proposed, was to draw the Gauls to attack him; determined however, if he failed, to go to them. The stratagem he employed was to render himself contemptible in their eyes. His camp could not at best take up much ground, as it consisted of no more than seven thousand men without baggage; he contracted it still as much as possible. He made it his business to show every sign of fear; he gave an unusual height to his ramparts, and stopped up his gates with great exactness: And, the Gaulish cavalry having advanced to defy the Roman, this last retreated according to order, affecting an air of timidity and concern.

Barbarians, who think themselves formidable, cannot help being presumptuous. Their whole army crosses the river; and advancing to the Romans gives them the wished-for opportunity of attacking them to advantage. Their confidence was so great, that they made proclamation round the Roman camp, that, if any of the Gauls or Romans had a mind to come over to them, they should be at liberty so to do till the third hour; but from that time they would give no quarter. They had already began to scale the rampart, and fill up the ditch; when Cæsar ordered a general sally to be made by all the gates of the camp. The infantry and cavalry fall at once on the Barbarians, whom surprize and fright rendered incapable of resistance. Numbers of them were killed on the spot, and the rest fled.

Cæsar, as prudent as courageous, would not pursue them too far, because of the woods and morasses with which the country abounded. As his numbers

A.R. 698. were so inconsiderable, he was sensible that the least
 Ant. C. check might be attended with fatal consequences.
 54. Thus without any loss he relieved, and joined, Cicero. When he saw the works of the Barbarians, he was struck with admiration. He then reviewed Cicero's forces, and found there was scarce one man in ten un-wounded: Which gave him a just idea of the greatness of the danger they had been exposed to, and of the vigorous defence they had made. He bestowed great commendations on the legion, and its Commander; and particular marks of esteem and affection on such Officers as Cicero made honourable mention of. For he well knew how powerfully well timed caresses operate on men of honour; and that an army becomes capable of undergoing every thing for a General who knows how to esteem and reward merit.

Cæsar learnt also from Cicero all the circumstance of the unhappy affair of Sabinus. As he loved his soldiers, he was extremely affected by it. He let his hair and beard grow, which among the Romans was the deepest mourning, nor did he shave himself till he had avenged the death of those brave men. So says * Suetonius; from whence we must conclude that his mourning continued at least to the end of the next campaign.

Cæsar returned C. Fabius to his winter-quarter among the Bellovaci; and he fixed himself about Samarobriva † with three legions, distributed in three different cantonments, but very near one another. The situation of affairs would not permit him to pass his winter in Italy, as usual. All Gaul was in motion, and meditated a general revolt. The Senones had expelled their King Cavarinus, who was a friend to the Romans, after having failed in an attempt to murder him. We have already mentioned the Assassination of Togutius King of the Carnutes by his Subjects. The Armorican nations, that is to say, tho-

* Suet, Cæs, 67,

† Amiens,

who inhabited the sea-coast from the mouth of the Loire to that of the Seine, were endeavouring to renew their alliance, which had been dissolved three years before. The Nervii, the Eburones, the Treviri were in arms. In a word, there was not one Gaulish nation but what was preparing for a revolt except the Adui and the Rhemi; these were particularly attached to the Romans, the one by an ancient alliance, and the other by new engagements contracted with Cæsar, and cultivated with mutual fidelity.

The Treviri in particular hastened to action. Their King, Indutiomarus, at first solicited the Germans to pass the Rhine and assist him. But the defeat of Ariovistus, and that of the Teuchtheri and Usipetes, had taught them better things. So that Indutiomarus could not prevail on any one of the German nations to come into his measures. This restless, impatient, Gaul attacked, however, Labienus's quarters with his national forces, and those of some of his neighbours. But it was to his own destruction. For as he imprudently came too near the Roman camp, Labienus sallied out on him with all his troops; whom he had ordered to single out Indutiomarus, and not to meddle with any one else before they had made sure of him. His design succeeded; Indutiomarus was slain in passing a river that obstructed his flight. His army, having lost their King and General, dispersed; and, after that victory, Gaul was somewhat quieter the rest of the winter.

S E C T. IV.

Cæsar raises two new legions in Italy, and borrows one of Pompey. Cæsar's expeditions during the winter. The measures Cæsar takes to secure his vengeance against Ambiorix and the Eburones. He subdues the Menapii. The Treviri are vanquished and subjected by Labienus. Cæsar passes the Rhine a second time. He goes at length into the country of the Eburones, and undertakes to extirpate them. Extreme, unexpected, danger to which a legion, commanded by Q. Cicero, is exposed from the Sicambri. The country of the Eburones is ravaged; but Ambiorix makes his escape from Cæsar. Cæsar causes Acco, Chief of the Senones, to be condemned and executed. He goes to Italy, to pass there the winter.

A. R. 699,
Aut. C.
53.

CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.*
M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.

Cef. de
R.G. l. 6.

Cæsar's forces were considerably lessened by the loss of the legion and five cohorts totally destroyed with Sabinus. To repair that loss he made new levies in Cisalpine Gaul; and besides, as Pompey in his second Consulship had enlisted soldiers, though he had never marshalled them in form, having had no occasion for them, as he had continued at Rome, Cæsar desired him to set those troops on foot, and send them to him. "Friendship, says Cæsar, and the good of the Commonwealth equally determined Pompey to consent to that request." It was indeed an useful succour for the Gaulish war: but how remiss a government must that be, when private persons could thus dispose of the public forces! Cato was aware of the consequences of such disorder, and complained of

Phut.
Cat.

* These Consuls did not enter into their office till July. The six first months of the year there was an Interregnum. But, as we do not treat here of the affairs of the City, I have specified the whole year by the names of the Consuls as usual.

it

it in the Senate. “ Pompey, said he, has lent a legio-
n to Cæsar ; tho’ the one never asked it of you,
nor the other had your consent so to dispose of it ; so
that bodies of six thousand men with horses and arms
are now presents of friendship between private per-
sons.” But it was Cato’s fate to speak always the
truth, and never to be heeded. Cæsar by this rein-
forcement made himself ample amends for what he
had lost : for in the room of fifteen cohorts he had
three legions, which doubled their number.

These measures were indeed necessary. The spirit
of the Gauls was by no means broke ; all those nations,
who last year made preparations for a revolt, persisted
in their design : and even the Treviri, far from being
discouraged by the death of Indutiomarus, continued
faithful to his memory and engagements. After hav-
ing bestowed the supreme command on his relations,
they made a new treaty with Ambiorix ; and took so
much pains with the Germans, that they at last obtain-
ed assistance from them.

Cæsar for these reasons thought proper to open the
campaign early ; and knowing that the Nervii and the
greatest part of their neighbours were in arms ; he as-
sembles the four legions that lay nearest to them ;
enters at the head of them into their country ; lays
it waste ; carries off many prisoners, and much cattle ;
and compels them to submit and give hostages.

After this expedition, which took up little time, he
returned, and held the general Assembly of Celtic
Gaul. But, finding that the Senones and Carnutes
had sent no Deputies, he adjourns the Session, and
transfers it to Lutetia ; whose inhabitants, though Paris,
they had been united with the Senones for an age,
did not appear to have been concerned with them in
their revolt. The same day he declared this resolu-
tion he set out ; and made such haste that he surprized
Acco, Chief of the Senones, before he could collect
his forces. Intreaties were now the only means left.
The Ædui, whose clients the Senones were, inter-
ested for them. Cæsar, who had no mind to spend
the

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 Ant. C. the guilty, took their excuses, and ordered them to
 53. bring him an hundred hostages. The Carnutes, being
 terrified, submit also; and obtain the same conditions, by the mediation of the Rhemi, their Patrons. Cæsar then comes to Lutetia, puts an end to the Session of the States, and orders the Gauls to provide him cavalry.

It was as yet but the beginning of the spring; and Cæsar, thinking Celtic Gaul was now in a state of tranquillity, turned all his thoughts to the management of the war with the Treviri and Ambiorix. It was the last that he particularly aimed at; and he purposed to revenge the slaughter of the Roman cohorts by his death, and the destruction of his nation. He endeavoured then to discover the intentions of Ambiorix, that he might frustrate them, and prevent his escape. He knew Ambiorix was in friendship with the Menapii; a fierce nation, who living in a country full of woods and morasses, had hitherto eluded the efforts of the Roman army, and had never made the least step towards a submission to Cæsar. Ambiorix had also, by the means of the Treviri, entered into an alliance with the Germans. Cæsar determined, ere he marched against him, to deprive him of these two resources, on which this cunning Barbarian depended. He sends two legions to Labienus in the country of the Treviri, to whom he commits the care of the baggage of the whole army; and goes himself against the Menapii, with five legions, who carried nothing but their arms with them. That nation, sensible that they were not able to keep the field against the Romans, had recourse to their usual artifice: and, instead of assembling forces, they dispersed; and concealed themselves with every thing they could carry off in their woods and morasses. But Cæsar, having divided his army into three corps, made such horrible havock in the country, plundering and burning every thing, and carrying away men and cattle, that the Menapii were obliged to beg peace

peace of him. He granted it, on condition that they should not receive Ambiorix, nor any one from him; threatening to treat them as enemies if they did. He left in their country Comius with a body of horse to keep them in awe; and prepared for the reduction of the Treviri. But he found the business done to his hands by the valour and conduct of Labienus.

A. R. 699
Ant. C.
53.

The Treviri had of their own accord advanced to attack the Lieutenant-general. But, having learnt that he had received a reinforcement of two legions, they stopt short, and resolved to wait for the auxiliaries they expected from Germany. Labienus thought proper to meet them; and advanced within a mile of them. Between the two camps ran a river *, with steep banks, and difficult to pass. The Roman General formed a scheme to draw them over this river, that he might fight them when on disadvantageous ground, and before they could be joined by the Germans. With this view he declared publicly, that he intended to decamp, and to go and occupy some better post, where the baggage of the army which he had under his care might be safer. As his camp swarmed with Gauls, this was presently reported to the enemy. Night being come, he assembles the Tribunes and first Captains, and acquaints them with his real intention: after which he gives the signal to depart. The Gauls were soon advertised of it; and reproaching one another with the cowardice of not daring to pursue a flying enemy, to whom they were superior in number, began at day-break to pass the river. Labienus gave them time to get all over. He then discontinues his march; and, having placed the baggage on an eminence under a sufficient guard, he animates his troops. "Behold, says he, the opportunity you longed for. The enemy present themselves in a place where they cannot possibly sustain your onset. Shew only under my command the valour you

* Probably the Moselle.

" have

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* Probably the Meuse.

" have

A. R. 699. " have so often manifested to our General. Think him
 Ant. C. " present ; and that he sees, and observes you." At
 53. these words the Romans gave a loud shout, and throw
 their javelins. The Gauls, finding those march boldly
 up to them of whom they expected to have seen no-
 thing but the backs, are confounded and disconcerted,
 nor sustain even the first shock, but take to flight.
 The victory was compleat ; multitudes killed ; many
 prisoners made ; and the Treviri, disheartened by the
 fatal blow, submit to the Romans. The Germans,
 hearing of the defeat of those they came to succour,
 repassed the Rhine ; and with them the whole family
 of Indutiomarus. Cingetorix, who had been always
 faithful to the Romans, was made King of that na-
 tion.

When Cæsar came into the country of the Treviri,
 and found all quiet, he resolved to pass the Rhine
 a second time. To which he had two motives ; to
 punish the Germans for sending succours to the Tre-
 viri, and to intimidate them so that they might not
 dare to give or promise a retreat to Ambiorix. He
 builds then a bridge like his former, but somewhat
 higher on the river ; and, having finished the work in
 a few days, he crosses the Rhine.

The Suevi were the people who sent the succours
 that had so much irritated him. At his approach
 they retreated far into the country ; and waited for
 him in good order at the entrance of a great forest
 called by them * Bacenide. Cæsar tells us, that he
 was apprehensive he should want provisions, if he
 went after the Suevi, because Germany was very ill
 cultivated. It is probable too that he did not choose
 to advance too far into an hostile country, out of
 which, perhaps, he should find it difficult and ha-
 zardous to retire. He returns then to Gaul ; but, to
 keep the Germans in fear, he would not demolish all
 his bridge ; but only broke off about two hundred

* Cellarius takes it to be the forest of Hartz in Lower Saxony, in
 the principality of Wolfenbutel.

A. R. 69.
Ant. C.
53.

feet on the German side ; and to secure the rest of it, he built thereon a tower of four stories, wherein he left twelve cohorts under a General Officer.

Nothing now remained but the war with the Eburones, which he had very much at heart. Above all, he would have been overjoyed to be master of the person of Ambiorix. He endeavours then to surprize that able Gaul : and for that purpose detaehes his cavalry under the command of Minucius Basilius, with orders to cross the forest of Ardenne with all expedition ; and to conceal his march as much as possible, that he might arrive when he was least expected. This stratagem was very near succeeding. Basilius penetrated into the country before any one knew of his coming ; and took some prisoners, who shewed him the retreat of Ambiorix. It was an edifice in the midst of a wood ; this wood saved him. For, while some of his cavalry stopped the Romans in a narrow way, he got on horse-back, and rode off ; with the loss however of his chariots, horses, and equipage.

Ambiorix, seeing the storm that was going to break on his country, had recourse to the only proper expedient ; which was to order the Eburones to shift every one for himself ; knowing he could not possibly assemble an army strong enough to make head against Caesar. His countrymen follow his directions. They dispersed ; and concealed themselves, some in woods, others in inaccessible morasses, others in places near the sea, which at high water became isles. Those, who were on good terms with the neighbouring nations, went there for shelter ; the open country was quite abandoned. Cativulcus, who shared the rule with Ambiorix, being old and infirm ; and therefore incapable of supporting the fatigues of war, or flight, poisoned himself *, after venting bitter imprecations

* Cæsar adds, that it was with Yew ; that is, probably, with a juice extracted from that tree, which many Naturalists believe to have a deadly quality.

against .

A.R. 699. against his colleague for drawing him into so fatal an enterprize.

53.

Cæsar's intention was utterly to extirpate the Eburones; the difficulty was now to find them. To that end he resolved to divide his forces; and began by depositing the baggage of the whole army in the fort Atuatica †, which was situated in the heart of the country, the unfortunate quarters of Sabinus and Cotta. As its works were not absolutely demolished he reckoned he should thereby lessen the labour of the legion he left there; which was one of the three lately raised in Italy. He gave the command of the fort, and legion, to Q. Cicero; whom he told at parting to expect him back in seven days. He took with him three legions; gave three to Labienus, and three to C. Fabius: these three corps, distributed in three different cantonments, made terrible havock all over the country of the devoted Eburones. But the inhabitants, scattered here and there, still eluded his vengeance. To come at them it was necessary to penetrate into unknown places, of difficult access; and to pass defiles, exposed on all sides to ambuscades. If the legions kept together in a body, they could not get at the enemy; if they divided into small parties, or if the soldiers ventured singly, as it often happened, in hopes of plunder, they frequently fell into the snares every where set for them, and perished themselves. At last Cæsar thought of a very extraordinary expedient; it was to invite the neighbouring nations to come, and plunder, and ravage the habitations and lands of the Eburones. These being acquainted with the country, were more likely to succeed; and if they fell in the attempt, Cæsar was not much concerned.

This invitation gave room to a most surprizing event; which sufficiently demonstrates how necessary

† Tongres in the country of Liege. The Atuatici, of whom we have elsewhere spoke, were a distinct people from the Eburones; and their Capital, as we have said, was according to many Geographers Namur.

It is in war to be at all times upon one's guard. Not only the neighbouring Gauls were allured by the assurance of an easy prey ; but, the news being carried over the Rhine, the Sicambri also laid hold of the opportunity. They pass the Rhine in barks to the number of two thousand horse ; and begin by pillaging the Eburones, and carrying off what cattle they could meet with. As they were advancing into the country, one of the prisoners addresses them : " Why thus amuse yourselves, says he, in searching after an inconsiderable booty, when in three hours you may reach Atuatica, where all the baggage, all the wealth of the Roman army is left ? Cæsar is far off ; the small garrison scarce suffices to man the ramparts ; and is so timidly cautious, that no one has yet dared to stir out of the intrenchments." This advice was greatly approved ; and the Sicambri immediately turn off to Atuatica.

It was now the seventh day since Cæsar's departure, and that on which he had fixed his return. Till then Q. Cicero had punctually obeyed his General's orders ; and had never suffered even a servant to go out of the camp. But at last, hearing nothing from Cæsar, who he knew was far advanced into the enemy's country, and doubting his exact return at the appointed time, tired out besides by the importunity of many who were uneasy at being shut up as if besieged, thinking it also proper to fetch corn into the camp that he might be able to give the allowance due that day to the soldiers, he sent five cohorts into a field only three miles distant to cut down the corn.

In that very instant the Sicambri arrive. The alarm in the Roman camp was great. It had now but half its complement ; an assault was what was least expected ; the Barbarians seemed to fall out of the sky ; and the soldiers doubted not that Cæsar's army was ruined, or they should not have been insulted. Some even apprehended the ill-luck, necessarily annexed as they thought to the place ; and had continually before

A. R. 699. fore their eyes the unhappy catastrophe of the force
Ant. C. of Sabinus.

53.

There were those among them, however, who stood their ground at the gate at which the enemies presented themselves. Cæsar has particularised an old Captain named Sextius Baculus, who had in his time performed many gallant actions; and who, though he was sick and had eat nothing for five days, made shift to drag himself to the place that was threatened where, encouraging by his example the Officers of the cohort on guard, he put a stop to the first fury of the Barbarians. Weak as he was, the wounds he received presently disabled him; and he fell *, either dead, or in a swoon, and was with difficulty carried off. However, his courageous defence gave the soldiers time to recover from their fright. The Sicambri were not able to force the gates of the camp; and the intrenchments defended themselves sufficiently against those who were ignorant of the manner of attacking them.

Mean-time the Roman foragers return. The Sicambri took them at first for Cæsar's army, and desisted from the attack of the camp; but soon, observing how few they were, pour upon them, and endeavour to surround them. The veterans that were in that body cut their way through the enemy, and got into the camp. The new levies, who had never been in such circumstances before, doubt, waver, and make contrary motions: many of these were slain. The rest, animated by their Officers, who were men of courage and experience selected by Cæsar out of old corps, gained at last the intrenchments. The Sicambri, despairing then to storm the camp, went off and retook their booty which they had deposited in the woods, and repassed the Rhine quietly.

Such was the consternation in the Roman camp even after the retreat of the Barbarians, that Volenus, arriving in the night with the cavalry, coul-

* Cæsar's expression seems capable of either construction: *relinquimus Sextium,*

A. R. 699. Ant. C.
53.

not persuade the soldiers that Cæsar was following. They persisted in their fancy, that the infantry was destroyed, and the cavalry alone had escaped. Nor did they recover their spirits till they saw their General in person returning at the head of the army.

Cæsar, having examined into every thing, could not but complain of the non-observance of his orders. For the rest, he admired the whimsical turn of fortune, which had caused those, who came on purpose to prejudice Ambiorix, to be as serviceable to him as if he had invited them to his assistance.

The rest of the campaign he continued to lay waste, by his own troops and the neighbouring nations, the country of the Eburones. Every thing was pillaged and destroyed; so that even those, who by hiding themselves escaped the sword, were necessarily reduced to perish by famine. But he was never able to execute his intended vengeance on Ambiorix himself. Often that fugitive was on the point of being taken, or killed; he was often seen, and thought to be secured; but he as often escaped. Shifting perpetually his abode; and trusting himself with no more than four faithful horsemen; he rendered ineffectual the efforts of a multitude of enemies, whom personal hatred, the desire of paying court to Cæsar, and the hopes of reward, animated to pursue him.

This expedition ended, Cæsar brought back his army to Durocortorum, the capital of the Remi. He there held a general Assembly of Gaul; in which he proceeded against those who had excited the Senones and Carnutes to revolt. Acco, having been convicted of being the chief promoter of it, was capitally condemned and executed. Many more, who apprehended the same fate, absconded; against whom Cæsar pronounced sentence of banishment.

He then put his legions into winter-quarters; two on the frontiers of the Treviri, two in the country of the Lingones, and six with the Senones. After which he went to Italy, to visit Cisalpine Gaul, and hold

the Assemblies according to the custom of the Rom
Magistrates.

The order of facts obliges us to interrupt here the account of Cæsar's wars in Gaul. We are now going into the East, to treat of a General of very different capacity, and no less different success.

S E C T . V.

Origin of the Parthians. Arsaces Founder of that Empire; which is extended under the successors of the Prince. Their manners at first savage, afterwards softened by luxury. Their manner of fighting. They were always on horseback. Their armies composed nothing almost but slaves. Character of their government. Parricide very common in the house of the Arsacids. The contempt Crassus had for vulgar superstitions particularly to him. The war he waged with the Parthians was altogether unjust. Saying of Dejotarus to Crassus upon his age. Crassus enters Mesopotamia; and, having subdued some towns, returns to pass the winter in Syria. His avarice. He plunders the temple of Hierapolis, and that of Jerusalem. Pompey and Crassus were unfortunate after they had profaned the temples of the true God. Pretended presages of the misfortunes of Crassus. Young Crassus comes from Gaul to join his father. Excessive confidence of Crassus. Disheartened of his army by what they hear of the valour of the Parthians. Artabazus, King of Armenia, ally of the Romans. The Parthian King goes in person against Artabazus; and sends Surena against Crassus. Birth, riches, character, of Surena. Crassus passes the Euphrates, and re-enters Mesopotamia. Abgarus, King of Edessa, betrays Crassus. Crassus prepares to fight the Parthians. Battle. Young Crassus, after extraordinary proofs of valour given, being overcome, causes himself to be killed by his Esquire. Heroic constancy of Crassus his father. Night puts an end to the fierce battles.

Grief and discouragement of the Roman soldiers and their General. They retire by favour of the night to the city of Carræ. The Parthians pursue them. Crassus leaves Carræ in the night, and trusts again to a traitor. Cassius, his Quæstor, separates from the army; and saves himself in Syria. Crassus is like to escape from the Parthians. Perfidy of Surena, who fraudulently invites him to a conference. The mutiny of the Roman soldiers compels him to go to it. He is slain there. Crassus was a man of small capacity, and great presumption. Surena's insolence after his victory. Crassus's head is carried to the King of the Parthians in Armenia.

Before we relate the unfortunate expedition of Crassus against the Parthians, I believe it will be proper to give an account of their origin and manners; and a summary of the History of that people, who were an unsurmountable barrier to the Roman Empire, and always put a stop to their conquests on the side of the East. We have already had occasion to name the Parthians more than once; but it is here properly that their History begins to make an important part of that of the Romans.

The Parthians came originally from Scythia; whence being expelled, they were obliged to seek elsewhere a quiet establishment. Their very name proved their origin, and contained in some manner their History; if it is true, as Trogus Pompeius says, that it signifies in the Scythian language Banished or Exiled. And the conformity of the manners of the two Nations confirms to that opinion all the probability that facts so ancient and remote will allow of.

The country they possessed lies to the South of Hyrcania, and joins to Media on the West; a small tract of ground, and very unpleasant, as it consists chiefly of sterile mountains and sandy plains: so that you are exposed to the rigour of both extremes of weather; a piercing cold on the hills, and an excessive heat in the plains. This is doubtless a disagreeable habitation,

ORIGIN OF THE PARTHIANS.

but very proper to harden the constitutions of its inhabitants, and make them capable of supporting the fatigues of war.

For many ages the Parthians remained altogether obscure and unknown. Under the Assyrians and Medes, under the Persians, under the first Macedonian Kings of Syria, scarce any mention is made of this people. It was in the year of Rome 502, 250 years before Jesus Christ, whilst Antiochus surnamed the God was King of Syria, that Arsaces headed the revolt of the Parthians, who were tired out with the injustice and tyranny of their Macedonian Governors. Authors do not agree who Arsaces was; but it is certain that he was always considered by the Parthians as the Founder of their Empire, and that his memory was in such veneration among them that all his successors took his name.

Arsaces, having given to his Nation its liberty, did not confine himself in the limits of Parthia; he extended his conquests; which were carried further by his successors, who were almost all warlike and ambitious: so that by the success they had in their wars with the Kings of Syria, whose power was continually decreasing; with the Scythians, with the Bactrians and with the Armenians; they had at last so enlarged their dominions, that in Crassus's time they included almost all the countries between the Oxus and Euphrates. Their royal Cities were Ctesiphon upon the Tigris, and Ecbatana in Media. The Parthian King spent the winter in the first; and the summer in the other, or in Hyrcania.

The manners of this nation savoured at first of the savage origin, and rough climate. But, after they had made conquests in delicious countries, wealth and pleasure softened them. They gave into luxury of dress, and excessive incontinence. Of this we may judge by Surena, the conqueror of Crassus. His baggage loaded a thousand camels; and he carried with him two hundred chariots filled with concubines. The seraglio of the King was doubtless much more numerous.

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ious, composed of women of all nations, whose beauty was their sole merit. So that these haughty Arsaciæ, whose descent on the fathers side so much elated them, came often from mothers whose birth and conduct might well have covered them with blushes. The condition of the women was indeed much the fame then as it is now in those Eastern countries. They were strictly confined, and absolutely debarred the fight of men.

Their armour, and manner of fighting, was the same they had received from the Scythians; excepting only their compleatly-armed horsemen, whom they borrowed, I believe from the Persians, their neighbours, and for a long time their masters. Their other troops had scarce any other offensive weapon than the bow and arrow; and fought always on horseback. Every one knows that they were no less formidable in flight †, than when they faced their enemies. For they had the art of shooting their arrows extremely well as they fled; and their pursuers were the more liable to be wounded, as they the least expected it.

Horses were universally used by them, not only in war, but at all other times also. If they went to a feast, or to a visit; in public and private affairs, in town and country, in their markets and conversations; they were always on horseback: in a word, the distinction between the slaves and their masters was, that the last every where appeared on horseback, and the others walked on foot.

This difference, however, only took place in time of peace. For their armies, which were all cavalry, were composed almost entirely of slaves. Of these they had prodigious numbers, which were continually increasing, as the masters had no power to infranchise their bondmen. They also took as much care of them as of their children. They taught them to ride

[†] Versis animosum equis Parthum. HOR. Od. I. 19.
Sagittas & celerem fugam Parthi. Id. ibid. II. 13.

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and shoot. The great, and wealthy, piqued themselves who should furnish the King in his wars with the greatest number of horsemen. So that, when Anthony fought the Parthians, out of fifty thousand horsemen there were, says Trogus Pompeius, but four thousand freemen.

The genius of this nation is depicted by the same author in but disadvantageous colours. * Haughty, feditious, perfidious, and insolent; they considered mildness as fit only for women; violence was according to them the glory of men. They were always restless, and therefore continually engaging in foreign or civil wars. Properer for action, than speech; neither prosperity nor adversity could break their gloomy silence. They obeyed their Kings, not out of loyalty, but fear: were moderate in eating, but immoderate in venery; and had no regard to their words or promises, any further than they found it agreeable to their interest.

We may add, that the lust of Empire in the royal family was productive of the most horrible crimes. Nothing is more frequent in the history of the Arsacida than to read of Kings dethroned, and murdered, by their relations, their brothers, their children. Orodes, who was on the throne, when Crassus invaded the Parthians, had first caused his father Phrahates to be killed, as we have elsewhere observed, in concert with Mithridates, one of his brothers; and afterwards, war breaking out between those two ambitious parricides, after various events Mithridates fell into the hands of Orodes; who treated him not as a brother, but as an enemy.

* Ingenia genti tumida, seditionis, fraudulenta, procacia; quippe violentiam viris, mansuetudinem mulieribus assignant. Semper autem in externos, aut in domesticos, motus inquieti: natura taciti, ad faciendum quam dicendum promptiores, proinde secunda adversaque silentio tegunt. Principibus metu, non pudore, parent, In libidinem projecti, in cibum parci. Fides dictis promissisque nulla, nisi quantum expedit.

L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS.

A. R. 698.

Ant. C.

54.

AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

Plut.Craff.
Dio, l. XL.

Crassus set out from Rome, and even from Brundisium, in the midst of pretended ill-omens; and loaded with the imprecations of many Romans. He had the utmost contempt for vulgar superstitions, which was prejudicial to him. * Antiquity gives us instances of Generals who suffered much from a weak credulity. Here we have an example of the contrary. Crassus, whose understanding was improved by philosophic researches, so heartily despised all these imaginary signs of celestial anger, that he seemed to suppose that all the world thought like him on those subjects. His soldiers notwithstanding were very susceptible of these superstitious fears; and he, giving no manner of attention to them, not providing any remedy against their bad consequences, suffered discouragement and despair to spread and increase to a great height among his troops.

This attention, however, was so much the more necessary, as the war he waged with the Parthians was altogether unjust: which inclined people to believe that the Gods declared against him. He had neither a lawful cause, nor orders from any body, to colour his invading them. But I have observed after Plutarch, that Crassus in his private conduct did not trouble his head about truth or falsehood, justice or injustice. He did not so much as save appearances on those subjects. He carried that manner of thinking into an enterprize in which he engaged the whole Commonwealth, and which might be attended with fatal consequences. He cared not that the Parthians were in peace with the Romans, and had given them no cause of complaint; it was sufficient for him to think that he should, by attacking them, gain riches and honour. And Divine Providence, which often

* Witness Nicias; upon which we may consult The Ancient History.

punishes

A. R. 69⁸. punishes the unjust in this life, caused him to meet
 Ant. C. with a dishonourable death there, where he thought to
 54. acquire an increase of glory and power.

He appeared throughout as a man struck with blindness, and who made no reflection on himself. His age alone ought to have been a sufficient reason to have diverted him from throwing himself into dangers and fatigues, to which he was no longer equal. For he was above sixty; and appeared much older. He even brought upon himself on that head a cautionary hint from Dejotarus. For in crossing Galatia, where that Prince, who was advanced in years, was building a new city, Crassus had a mind to rally him upon it. "King of Galatia, says he, you begin to "build when you have but an hour of day left." Dejotarus answered him very à propos: "You too, "Crassus, are not over-early in setting out on your ex- "pedition against the Parthians." It is not said that Crassus was offended at the repartee: but he did not for that the less go on with what he had undertaken.

Being arrived in Syria, he lost no time; and, having thrown a bridge over the Euphrates, he had at first some success: because the Parthians were not prepared against so sudden and unforeseen an irruption. He took several towns in Mesopotamia, or rather received their voluntary submission. For they were almost all Græcian colonies, who obeyed with regret Barbarians, that had been slaves of their ancestors; and they put themselves willingly under the protection of the Romans, whom they knew to be lovers of their nation.

He met then with no resistance but from a Parthian Officer, named Sillaces, who with a handful of cavalry met him near the town of Ichnæ; and who, being vanquished and wounded, carried to his master the news of the entry of the Romans into Mesopotamia. Crassus had also occasion to draw the sword against the inhabitants of Zenodotium; who had massacred about an hundred Romans, after having received them into their city. This perfidy was revenged by the taking of the town; which was plundered,

dered, and its inhabitants put to the sword, or sold. A. R. 69.
Crassus, having suffered his army to proclaim him Imperator for these trifling advantages, made himself be considered as a man of no extraordinary courage or hopes. Ant. C. 54.

But the greatest fault he committed, after the enterprize itself, which, Plutarch says, was the greatest of all faults, was, that instead of advancing, and pushing on to Babylon and Seleucia, cities that were always ill-affected to the Parthians, he would return, and winter in Syria; and left on the other side of the Euphrates, in the places he had subdued, only seven thousand foot and a thousand horse. By which he gave the enemy time to recover, and prepare for the next campaign.

His employment during the winter was no less blameable; for he took no care to collect quantities of provisions and ammunition, or to exercise his troops. Directed by his unhappy bias, money was almost the only thing he thought of. He took an exact account of the revenues of the cities, without doubt to tax them as high as possible. He ordered them to raise a certain number of soldiers, which he afterwards dispensed with for sums of money. He plundered the temples; and particularly that of the Syrian Goddess, greatly honoured in the city of Hierapolis, tempted him by its rich offerings; which he examined curiously several days, and weighed in scales. That Goddess, who was represented in many places by a monstrous image half woman, half fish, seems to be the same as the God Dagon mentioned in holy writ, and whose name signifies a Fish.

Crassus spared no more the temple of the true God, whom he had the misfortune not to know. He took from thence * two thousand talents, which had been there ever since Pompey's time, and which he had left there. There was kept there besides eight thousand talents †, which were the deposits of all the Jews

* Three hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds sterling.

† One million four hundred thousand pounds.

through-

A. R. 698. throughout the universe. Eleazar, who had the custody of the treasures of the temple, was willing to save at least these deposits ; and to redeem them he thought he might sacrifice a piece of immense value. It was a beam of gold, as Josephus calls it, weighing seven hundred and fifty Roman pounds, and inclosed in a beam of wood, to which were tied the magnificent veils that separated the sanctuary from the outward part, called the holy place. Eleazar alone knew of this precious ingot ; and, before he delivered it to the Roman General, he insisted on his oath ; by which he engaged to rest satisfied with that, and to take out of the temple nothing more of its riches. Crassus swore, took the beam ; but spared not therefore the eight thousand talents.

It is very proper to observe the unhappy fate of the two Roman Generals, who first, and alone to the time we speak of, durst violate the respect due to the temple of Jerusalem. Pompey, from the time he was rash enough to look into that awful place, where no profane person had yet entered, succeeded in nothing ; and terminated at last miserably a life till then made up of triumphs. Crassus, yet more criminal, met with more speedy punishment ; and perished that very year.

I hope the judicious reader will not confound this observation, which is agreeable to the principles of Christianity and the belief of a Providence, with the pretended ill-omens that happened to Crassus, according to the vulgar opinion and the accounts of historians. I would not even deign to give place in a serious work to those accidents of no consequence, if they did not help us to know the way of thinking of the Ancients ; of which perhaps there are still those among us who are not quite cured. It is observed, for example, that Crassus and his son, as they were going out of the temple of Hierapolis, fell one upon the other ; which was a presage of their approaching death ; and the son fell first, because he was to be killed before his father. Every one is sensible how frivolous this

this is. I shall mention hereafter other facts of this kind, of which the same judgment will be easily made.

Young Crassus was come from Gaul to join his father in Syria, with a thousand Gaulish cavalry. His history praises him, as having given proofs of capacity and courage; but Cicero taxes him with temerity and presumption. "Because he had served, says he, under a great General, (that is Cæsar) he immediately thought himself capable of conducting an army. He had nothing in his head less than the models of Alexander and Cyrus. In running thus rashly after greatness and glory, he fell in a deplorable manner."

CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.

A. R. 698.

M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.

Ant. C.

53.

Crassus the father, whom age should doubtless have rendered more moderate, shewed throughout his whole conduct an unwarrantable confidence. When he assembled his troops out of their quarters, in order to re-enter Mesopotamia, there arrived an ambaffy from the Parthian King; with instructions pacific enough, but couched in terms that were very haughty, and insulting as to Crassus. "If it is Rome," said the Ambassadors, "that has sent you and your army here, the enmity will be irreconcileable. But if it is without the orders of your Republic, as we are informed, and through the desire of enriching yourself, that you have attacked the Parthians, and invaded their territories; * Arfaces would willingly use moderation: he pities your age, and permits you to withdraw the Roman soldiers, who are rather prisoners in the cities of Mesopotamia, than able to keep them for you." Crassus did not shew any resentment of such contemptuous language; but, full of his project, told them, he would return an answer to the King of Parthia in Seleucia. Vagises, Chief of

* The Parthians gave this name to all their Kings.

A. R. 699. the ambassy, laughed ; and shewing with the fingers
 Ant. C. of his right-hand the palm of his left, " Hairs will
 53. " grow here," replies he, " before Crassus sees Se-
 " leucia." So both sides prepared for war.

But the Roman army began to be disheartened, even before they had seen the enemy. Nothing could be more terrifying than the accounts of them, given by some of those who had been left in garrison by Crassus in the towns on the other side of the Euphrates ; and who, dispatched probably by their Commanders, with much trouble and hazard had got into the camp. They exaggerated, as is usual with those who are frightened, the greatness of the danger, the number of the enemy, and the difficulty of resisting them. " They are People, said they, whom it is " impossible to escape when they pursue, or to take " when they fly. Their arrows are too swift for the " sight, so that their adversaries find themselves " wounded ere they see the archer. The defensive, " and offensive, arms of their cuirassiers are equally " advantageous ; the first are impenetrable, and the " others pierce whatever is opposed to them." Crassus's soldiers were the more dismayed at this relation, as they had formed a quite different notion of the Parthians. They thought them the same in all respects as the Armenians and Cappadocians, whom Lucullus had beat with so much ease ; and had imagined that the chief trouble they should have in this war would consist in long marches, and in the difficulty of coming up with enemies who would decline fighting. The danger they least expected, being found real, made great impression on their minds.

Even some of the principal Officers were affected by it ; and among others Cassius, who afterwards made himself so famous by killing Cæsar, and who was then Quæstor to Crassus. Courageous, yet cautious, he had a mind, and many others with him, to refer the undertaking the war to a new deliberation, and to examine whether it was seasonable to engage in it. They were seconded by the diviners and aruspices,

who

who pretended the omens were all bad. But Crassus A. R. 699.
would hear nothing but what flattered the incredible Ant. C.
eagerness he had to advance. 53.

He was confirmed in this resolution by the arrival of Artabazus, King of Armenia, who had succeeded old Tigranes, his father. This Prince came into the Roman camp with six thousand horse, which composed his guard. He promised besides a corps of ten thousand cuirassiers, and thirty thousand foot, which he would subsist at his own expence. He gave at the same time a piece of advice, which, if it had been followed, would probably have prevented the ruin of the Roman army. It was to enter the territories of the Parthians by the way of Armenia; by which means the Romans would have had plenty of provisions in a friendly country; and the Parthian cavalry, which was their whole strength, could not have acted among the mountains with which Armenia abounds. Crassus gave a tolerable reception to Artabazus, on account of the succours he brought and promised; but absolutely rejected his advice, because he had left in Mesopotamia some good troops whom he could not abandon. The Armenian Prince went away little satisfied with Crassus, and probably foresaw that he should be soon employed in defending his own dominions. In fact the King of Parthia, finding he had two enemies to deal with, Crassus and Artabazus, prudently endeavoured to prevent their junction. With this view he divided his forces; and as, notwithstanding his bravadoes and haughty airs, he much feared the Romans, he went in person where he thought there was least danger, that is, into Armenia; and sent a numerous army into Mesopotamia under the command of Surena.

That name is not the name of a person, but of a dignity; and belonged to the second person in the Empire, and as it were the Vizir of the King of Parthia. He who was then in possession of that high post, and whom we shall always call by the name of Surena, as we know no other he had, was of the first nobility.

His

A. R. 699. His family claimed a right, in the ceremony of ^{sense}
 Ant. C. ^{feize}augurating the Parthian Kings, to place the crown
^{wou}53. on their heads. His wealth equalled his birth. I
 have given a hint of his equipage, and luxury, in the
 army he commanded. But, what was much more to
 the purpose, he had with him a thousand cuirassiers,
 and a much greater number of light-armed horse,
 raised on his estate; and his retinue, including his
 troops, servants, and dependents, amounted to more
 than ten thousand men. He was a man of great per-
 sonal courage, and had thereby been greatly service-
 able to Orodes, who then reigned; having restored
 him from banishment to the throne, and having
 stormed the city of Seleucia, in the siege of which he
 signalized himself so far as first to mount the wall and
 kill with his own hand those who opposed him. To
 valour he joined, though not yet thirty years old,
 ability and address, which he extended without scruple
 to fraud and perfidy: and it was chiefly by these sinister
 means that he triumphed over Crassus; whom a rash
 confidence at first, and afterwards the despair inspir-
 ed by his misfortunes, disposed to give into all the
 snares laid for him. Such was the General whom
 Orodes opposed to the Romans.

Crassus passed the Euphrates at the city of Zeugma,
 where there was a bridge over that river, from
 whence it took its name; for Zeugma signifies a
 Bridge in Greek. During the passage there happen-
 ed a terrible storm, with thunder and lightning, a
 heavy rain, and violent wind; in short, the hurricane
 was so furious, that it broke down part of the bridge,
 which was but of wood. The superstitious soldiery
 was above all terrified by the last accident, which
 seemed to intimate the impossibility of a return. Craf-
 sus endeavoured to dispel that fear, by assuring them
 with oaths, that he had always designed to bring his
 army back by Armenia; and his harangue had a
 good effect. But as he insisted much on it, and
 added, "Yes, you may depend on what I tell you;
 "none of us shall come back this way;" the double
 sense

sense of these words renewed all the fears that had seized on the troops. And Crassus, who perceived it, would not correct his expression.

A.R. 699.
Ant. C.
53.

There happened soon after another fact of the same nature. When the army had passed the river, Crassus reviewed it. It was usual on those occasions to have a solemn sacrifice. The priest who killed the victim having, according to custom, put the entrails into the General's hands, he let them fall. This was a fresh cause of terror to the army. Crassus only laughed at it; "This is, says he, the effect of old age, "but my arms shall not fall out of my hands." He could have said nothing better. Notwithstanding his troops retained an impression of fear in consequence of these accidents, and some others which I purposely omit, which they still considered as bad omens.

Crassus had under him a fine army; seven Legions, four thousand horse, and the same number of light-armed troops. It advanced at first along the river to seek out the enemy. The scouts brought word that they saw no men, but the foot-steps of a great number of horses that retreated. Crassus from thence concluded that the Parthians fled before him, and resolved to pursue them. However Cassius, and those of his opinion, again made representations to their General; and proposed to him either to let the army stay in one of the cities that had Roman garrisons, or to get to Seleucia by coasting the Euphrates. The march would indeed have been long, but they would have escaped from thence great advantages. They could not have wanted provisions, as barks might have accompanied the army by means of the river; and besides the river would have prevented them from being surrounded. Crassus was in doubt what to do, and might perhaps have followed this salutary advice; but a traitor hindered him.

* Abgarus, King of Edessa in Osroene, according to the practice of petty Princes, who are always

¹ This name, which was common to all the Kings of Edessa, is derived from the Arabic, and signifies Great, Powerful.

A. R. 629. obliged to submit to the laws of their too-potent
 Ant. C. neighbours, had appeared a friend to the Romans,
 53. while Pompey's arms awed the East ; and afterwards
 upon the departure of that General, had renewed his
 alliance with the Parthians. Had he discovered his
 sentiments, he could not have done Crassus much
 harm. But, by agreement with Surena, he came
 to the Roman camp ; hiding the blackest perfidy
 under the mask of friendship ; and as he was a plau-
 sible speaker ; and besides knowing the foible of
 Crassus, had brought him considerable presents ; he
 got his entire confidence.

Abgarus's commission was to persuade the Roman
 General to engage himself in the vast plains of Mesopota-
 mia, where heavy-armed troops could not defend
 themselves against an innumerable cavalry. After he
 had then insinuated himself into the favour of Crassus
 by protestations of gratitude for the services done him
 by Pompey, and by the high opinion he expressed of
 the Roman army : “ You do not surely, says he, right
 “ ly consider it, with such an army as yours to lose
 “ time in making tedious preparations. You have
 “ no occasion for arms against those who think
 “ nothing but flight ; you want only swift feet to
 “ overtake them, and hands to seize and carry off
 “ their riches. And even supposing it necessary
 “ to fight ; which is most eligible, to have to do with
 “ Surena alone ; or to give Orodus, whom fear no
 “ compels to hide, time to recover his courage, and
 “ unite against you the whole force of his Empire.

Crassus knew not then that the Parthian King was
 gone to wage war in Armenia ; and took for indis-
 table truths all the lies which the treacherous Osroenus
 thought proper to put off. So he leaves the Euphi-
 tes ; and, according to Surena's wishes, takes the
 route of the plains.

The way was at first pleasant and easy enough. But
 soon they met with burning sands and boundless
 scorching deserts. So that not only thirst and the inconveniences
 of a painful march fatigued the Romans ; but the
 pro-
 deje-
 rivu-
 of t-
 whil-
 to ha-
 that
 nia a-
 Orod-
 cours-
 come-
 at lea-
 to ga-
 This
 zus.
 prejud-
 Abgar-
 He ser-
 entated
 not the
 but wo-
 Caffi-
 make a-
 gan to b-
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 sent
 encha-
 his ar-
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 The c-
 behaved
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 You
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 the sha-
 licious
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prosp-

prospect of an immense solitude added greatly to their dejection. For they saw neither tree, nor plant, nor rivulet, nor hill, nor grass ; but as it were a vast sea of sand which surrounded them on all sides. Meanwhile Crassus had news from Artabazus which ought to have opened his eyes, and to have convinced him that Abgarus imposed on him. The King of Armenia acquainted him that he was actually attacked by Orodes, and for that reason could not send the succours he had promised. He desired him therefore to come and join him ; if not, he advised him to avoid at least places where cavalry could act to advantage, to gain the mountains and intrench himself there. This was good advice, and well-intended by Artabazus. Crassus, who was a small genius and full of prejudices, while he blindly trusted the traitorous Abgarus, suspected treachery where there was none. He sent no answer in writing to Artabazus, but contented himself with telling his deputy, that he was not then at leisure to go and punish the Armenians, but would soon revenge himself of their perfidy.

Cassius was now disconsolate ; and, not daring to make any more remonstrances to his General, who began to be offended with him, he attacked the Osroenian private. " Wretch, says he, what evil genius has sent you among us ? By what delusions, by what enchantments, have you bewitched Crassus to lead his army into immense deserts ; and to undertake marches fitter for a leader of Arabian robbers, than a Roman General ?"

The cunning Barbarian, who could take all shapes, behaved humbly to Cassius ; and desired him only to have patience a little longer. To the soldiers he acted in another manner ; he made a jest of it to them. You imagine sure, says he, that you travel in Campania, and you expect the springs, the baths, the shades, and the commodious inns, of that delicious country. You forget that you traverse the confines of Assyria and Arabia." At last, however, ^{lest his perfidy might be discovered,} he left the army ;

A. R. 699. and that not by stealth; but in order, as he per-
Ant. C.
53. suaded Crassus, to do him service, and trouble the
affairs and counsels of the enemy. On the contrary,
he went to inform the Parthians that it was now time
to attack the Romans, who were come to deliver
themselves up to them.

In fact, it was not long before Crassus heard from
them. While he was making forced marches, fear-
ing nothing but that the enemy should escape from
him, his scouts come back full speed and inform him
that the greatest part of their comrades were killed
that they themselves had escaped with difficulty, and
that the Parthians followed them in great numbers,
and good order, and with much confidence and auda-
city. This report, so different from what Crassus
expected, began to disconcert him. There had hap-
pened to him that very day two pretended ill-omens
which it was to be wished had had no more effect on
his troops than on himself. In dressing he put on by
mistake a black surtout instead of a purple one: and
some of the colours were not pulled out of the
ground without difficulty. These things made no
impression on Crassus. He only changed his dress
but was not the less confident, nor even presump-
tuous.

The arrival of the enemy, however, disturbed
him; and caused him in a great measure to lose the
presence of mind so necessary to a General in time of
danger. At first, following the advice of Cassius, he
formed his infantry into a column; to give the en-
emy less hold, and prevent his rear's being surrounded.
Afterwards he altered his mind, and formed a square
battalion, having twelve cohorts on every side; and
he flanked each cohort with a squadron; that, as the
enemies strength lay in their horse, every part of the
battle might be supported by cavalry. He placed
himself in the center, gave the command of the two
wings to his son and Cassius; and marched in this or-
der to the place where he was told the enemy was,
they not being yet in sight.

The Roman army in advancing came to a rivulet, A.R. 699.
the sight of whose water, though not very abundant, Ant. C.
comforted and rejoiced the soldiers in that dry torrid
country. The greatest part of the Officers were in-
clined to encamp and pass the night in that place ;
and in the mean time to get more exact information
of the number of the enemy, their dispositions, and
manner of fighting. But young Crassus, full of ar-
dour and confidence, persuaded his father to advance.
So that they only made a short halt, to give those
who chose it time to refresh and eat ; and, before
they had all finished, Crassus resumed his march ;
not gently, and with frequent stops, that the troops
might not come fatigued to the enemy ; but with
great haste and precipitation.

53-

Presently the Parthians appeared ; and their coun-
tenance had nothing so terrible as had been reported.
The first ranks concealed those behind, so that their
number seemed inconsiderable ; besides, their arms
were covered with leather, which prevented their glit-
tering. Surena was willing to hearten somewhat the
Romans at first, that their surprize might be the
greater afterwards, and increase their terror. Which
happened accordingly, when, at the signal given by
him, all the plain echoed with the sound, not of
trumpets and horns, which were the instruments the
Romans used, but a sort of drums accompanied with
bells, which together made a mixture of hollow and
shril sounds capable of scaring those who were unused
to them. At the same instant the Parthians uncovered
their arms, and appeared men, and horses, all re-
splendent with iron and steel ; an unexpected sight,
and no less proper to trouble the eye, than the noise of
their drums was to terrify the ear. Surena shewed
himself at their head, tall and handsome ; but effe-
minately adorned, and in a manner ill-anwering his
valour. For, following the fashion of the Medes, he
put on red ; and curled and perfumed his hair ; whereas
the Parthians retained even at that time the negligent,

A. R. 699. and I may say Savage, air of the Scythians, their ancestors.
Ant. C.

53.

When the two armies were near enough to engage, the Parthians, who had long pikes, endeavoured to break the Romans with them. But they soon perceived that such close battalions, composed of soldiers accustomed to fight hand to hand, were impenetrable. They retreated then, and made believe they would disperse; but at the same time extended themselves, and endeavoured to encompass the Romans. Crassus detached after them the light-armed troops; who went not far. For, being surprized with a shower of arrows, they fell back on the legions; whom they disordered a little, and frightened more. The Roman soldiers considered with fear and astonishment the violence of those arrows, whom no defensive arms could withstand. And indeed the bows of the Parthians were very large and strong, and vigorously bent; and the dryness of a hot climate, enabling the strings to bear an extraordinary tension, made that kind of weapon yet more formidable.

Already the Parthians, having separated and placed themselves at a distance, shot their arrows on the Roman legions; and, close as the Romans stood together, could scarce ever miss. Nor could the Romans take any measures that would answer. If they kept their ground, they received the enemies discharge without even the consolation of revenge. If they advanced, the Parthians fled; and did not therefore discontinue shooting; a practice, with reason applauded by Plutarch; as it reconciled safety and glory, which commonly are at variance.

The Romans flattered themselves for some time that the Parthians would at last exhaust their stock of arrows; and then would be obliged to retire, or fight hand to hand. But when they learnt that these hopes were ill-grounded, as the Parthians had in their rear a great number of camels laden with these terrible arrows, which they fetched thence as they had occasion; despair

* The Latin tr

despair seized these gallant men, whose valour was now A. R. 699.
become useless. Ant. C.

53.

Young Crassus, however, by his father's order, endeavoured to join the enemy; who had approached nearer to the wing he commanded, and prepared to surround it. He takes then the thousand Gaulish cavalry he had brought with him, three hundred other horse, five hundred archers, and eight legionary cohorts; and, separating from the army, advanced to the attack. The Parthians gave ground, and even fled before him; designing probably to cut him off from his father. The young warrior thought himself victorious; and pursued them, accompanied by two of his friends, Censorinus and * Megabacchus. All the horse followed them; and the foot shewed not less ardour and courage, being persuaded that they were victors, and that the enemy fled. They followed them thus a great way; but on a sudden the pretended runaways stop; and, joining themselves to other troops, return all together upon the Romans. These stood, supposing their small number would be a bait that would allure the Parthians, who were much more numerous, to engage them hand to hand. But they were mistaken. The Parthian cuirassiers placed themselves in front; and the rest of the horse scoured the country, riding about the Romans without order, and thereby raised such a terrible dust as took away at once both sight and respiration. Crouding one another in a small space, the Romans stood as butts to the Parthian arrows; unable to defend themselves against enemies whom they even saw not. They perished then in great numbers; and by a slow, painful, death. They tried to pull out the arrows that pierced them, but their iron was armed with hooks; so that they tore their veins and nerves; and expired in great torment. And those who remained alive were in no condition to fight. Their Commander having exhorted them to

* This is not a Roman name, and is perhaps corrupted. The old Latin translator, according to Xylander, had Cn. Plancus.

A. R. 699. go and attack the Parthian cuirassiers, they shewed
 Ant. C. him their hands nailed to their shields, and their feet
 33. fixed to the ground; so that they could neither fight,
 nor fly.

In this extremity young Crassus, who manifested throughout the engagement a valour worthy of a different fate, had recourse to his cavalry as his last hope; and managed so well, that with them he at last joined the enemies cuirassiers. But the conflict was very unequal. The Gaulish half-pikes had little effect on horsemen covered from head to foot with armour; whereas the long stout lances of the Parthians gave terrible blows to the Gauls; whose defensive armour, according to the custom of their nation, was very slight, if they had any at all. However, the Gauls did wonders. They seized with their hands their adversaries lances; and then, laying hold of them, tumbled them from their horses; which put them out of all manner of condition of fighting; because the weight of their armour prevented their getting up again, or making any motion. Sometimes the Gauls dismounted, and getting under their opponents horses, stabbed them. The wounded steed flounced; and threw his rider; treading to pieces at once the victor and vanquished. But heat, and thirst, overcame these brave Gauls, acting in a climate so different from their own. Besides, most of their horses were killed, being transfix'd by the long lances of the Parthian cuirassiers. Thus, after an obstinate engagement, they were obliged to retreat to their infantry; carrying with them young Crassus dangerously wounded.

A small sandy eminence, which the Romans perceived near them, seemed to offer them some shelter. They posted themselves there; placed their horses in the middle, and formed themselves into a circle, making a rampart of their shields; by which means they hoped to be able to repulse the Barbarians. But the contrary happened. For on even ground the first protected at least those behind; whereas, on an ascent,

cent, the hindmost stood necessarily higher than those before ; so that all of them were equally exposed to the enemies arrows ; and they found themselves, with grief, reduced to the necessity of perishing without glory, without almost resistance.

A. R. 699.
Ant. E.
53.

These unhappy troops had now no glimmering of hope left ; and two Greeks, who were settled in that country, advised young Crassus to save himself in the city of Ichnæ, which was not far off, and had admitted a Roman garrison. He answered like a Hero, that no death could be terrible enough to make him resolve to abandon brave men, who were butchered on his account. He exhorted the two Greeks to make use themselves of the counsel they gave him ; and, making them a sign of friendship, sent them away. As for himself, being wounded in the hand, and unable to use it, he presented his body to his Esquire, and commanded him to stab him. Censorinus did the same : Megabacchus, and many Officers of distinction, killed themselves. The soldiers, deprived of their Commanders, and pressed by the enemies, who thrust their lances into their bodies, at last surrendered ; there being no more than five hundred left out of seven thousand. The Parthians cut off the head of young Crassus ; and, fixing it on a pike, carried it to his father.

He had reason to expect that misfortune. For, after a glimpse of joy which the flight of the Parthians from his son had given for a small time, he had received couriers from him, who informed him of the great distresses he was in, and the pressing need he had of a considerable and speedy succour. As Crassus was now superior in number to the part of the enemies army opposed to him, he took the advantage, and put himself in motion, to go and disengage his son, if not yet too late ; when he saw the Parthian victors arrive, who brandished in the air his pale, bloody, head ; shewing it to the Romans, and asking insultingly, whose son that young Hero was : “ For ‘ it is not possible, said they, intrepid warrior as he ‘ was,

A. R. 699. " was, that he should spring from so cowardly a father
 Ant. C. 53. " as Crassus." This sight, and discourse, far from inspiring the Romans with a desire of vengeance, threw them into an inexpressible dejection and consternation.

This is the finest passage in the life of Crassus. That unhappy father, instead of being unmanned by grief, endeavoured to comfort himself, and encourage his army. " This is a loss," cries he, " that affects me only. The fortune and glory of Rome still sur-
 " vives in you; and has received neither defeat, nor
 " diminution; since you are alive, and in condition
 " to act. But if compassion for my misfortune touch
 " you, if you share in my affliction for the death of
 " the best of sons, shew it by your just resentment
 " against the enemy; turn their joy into mourning,
 " punish their cruelty. Let not what has happened
 " discourage you. Great success is not bought
 " cheaply. This our ancestors have often experi-
 " enced. It is not by an uninterrupted series of suc-
 " cess; but by patience, and a fortitude invincible
 " by the injuries of fortune, that Rome has rose to
 " the height of grandeur she now enjoys."

These generous words were not able to revive the Roman courage. And Crassus, having ordered his soldiers to give a shout, only thereby manifested their fright and dejection; so weak it was, discordant, and ill-supported: whereas that of the Barbarians proclaimed joy and confidence. The battle continued till night with the same disadvantage to the Romans. The Parthians then retired; saying, they would grant Crassus a night to mourn his son; and would return the next day and complete their victory: unless he wisely chose to deliver himself voluntarily up to Ar-saces, rather than be carried to him by force. It was the custom of the Parthians never to pass the night near their enemies; because they did not fortify their camps; and in the dark could not use either their horse, or arrows, to advantage.

It is easy to imagine what a night the Romans had. A. R. 699:
 No body took care to bury the dead, or dress the Ant. C.
 wounded; every one was took up with lamenting
 himself. For their destruction seemed inevitable,
 whether they staid till day where they were, or ad-
 vanced during night in an infinite plain where there
 was no shelter. The wounded too were an objection,
 as to the last. To carry them with them would re-
 tard their progress; and if they left them behind, be-
 sides the inhumanity of such a conduct, they exposed
 themselves to a discovery from their cries. And in
 this mournful situation the General did not appear.
 Though he was the cause of all their calamities, they
 would have been glad to have seen him, and heard
 his voice. But he had not the courage to shew him-
 self. He was naturally timid; he had made an extra-
 ordinary effort during the fight; the success not an-
 swering, he was cast down by grief and fear, and kept
 himself hid in obscurity. * Great example, says Plu-
 tarch, to the vulgar of the inconstancy of fortune;
 but to the wise a great lesson of the misfortunes that
 spring from a mad and boundless ambition; which
 suggested to him that he ought not to be satisfied till
 he was the first and greatest man in the world; and
 that to have two above him was an humiliation that
 annihilated him.

Octavius, a Lieutenant-general, and Cassius, hav-
 ing in vain endeavoured to recover him from his de-
 jection, took upon themselves to call a Council of
 war. It was therein resolved to retire immediately.
 Upon which the army decamped without noise, and
 without the trumpets giving the signal to depart. But,
 when those who were disabled from marching perceived
 themselves abandoned, they by their affecting cries
 and lamentations troubled and disordered the march.
 Besides, the apprehensions of being pursued and over-
 taken by the enemy; the drawing often into battalia

* Παρεδίη μα τοις πολλοῖς τυχεῖ τοις δίν φρεστοῖς αὐλίαις καὶ φιλοτιμίαις, διὸ ἀν-
 ιητά μη πάντος εἰς μεγάλος εἰς μεγάλου αὐθαντοῦ πολεμήσεις, αλλ' οὐδὲ δύσι
 μονοὶ αὐθαντοῦ ιστός εκρέπετο, τῷ πάντος αὐτοῖς δινοὶ τομῆσαν.

A. R. 699. on false alarms ; the care of such of the wounded who
 Ant. C. having some strength left dragged themselves after the
 53. army ; made them advance very slowly.

Only an Officer, named Egnatius, having separated from the main army with three hundred horse, came to the foot of the walls of the city of * Carræ about midnight : and, calling to the sentinel in Latin, desired him to tell Coponius the Governor, that there had been a great battle between Crassus and the Parthians. He added nothing more, and did not even discover himself ; and then pursued his route to Zeugma. Thus he saved himself and his troops, but was blamed for abandoning his General.

However, the advice he gave Coponius was serviceable to Crassus and his army. The haste with which Egnatius passed on, and the vague expressions he used without entering into particulars, made the Governor of Carræ conclude that the news was bad. He therefore ordered his whole garrison to take arms, went out to meet Crassus, and conducted him and his army into the city.

The Parthians were not ignorant of the retreat of the Romans : but waited for day according to their custom. They then came into the Roman camp ; where they butchered about four thousand sick and wounded, who were left there. They killed also many Roman soldiers, as they overtook them here and there in the plain. Besides these, four cohorts, having lost their way, were surrounded by them and cut in pieces, to the number of twenty ; who continuing to defend themselves with invincible courage, struck their adversaries with such admiration, that they opened, and gave them a free passage to Carræ.

Surena, as he approached that city, received a false piece of intelligence. He was told that Crassus and the principal Romans had escaped ; and that there was only an inconsiderable body of troops in the city.

* Many authors, both antient and modern, think this city is the same as Haran ; where Abraham sojourned some time with his father Tharez.

A.R. 629.
Ant. C.
53.

The Parthian General was afraid he had lost the chief fruit of his victory ; and, to know the truth, he sent near the walls one of his people who spoke both languages ; with orders to invite with a loud voice Crassus, or Cassius, to an interview with Surena. This man was attended by some Arabians, who, having served in the Roman army before the action, well knew Crassus and Cassius. The last appeared on the walls ; and was told, that Surena consented to make peace with the Romans, provided they evacuated Mesopotamia. The proposal was advantageous in the then circumstances of the Roman army. Cassius promised to report it to his General, who would be glad to treat on those terms with the Parthian Commander. Surena, having thus got at the knowledge of what he wanted, laughed at the credulity of the Romans ; and the next day, while he was preparing to attack the place, he by proclamation acquainted them, that, if they had a mind to retire in safety, they must deliver up to him Crassus and Cassius bound hand and foot. The Romans, extremely mortified to find themselves thus imposed on, thought of nothing now but running away in the night.

It was necessary to keep such a resolution concealed from the inhabitants of Carræ till its execution. Crassus always imposed on, always blind, imparted it to a traitor ; whom he even took for his guide in the march. That wretch, named Andromachus, immediately informed the Parthians of what passed ; and, that he might deliver the Romans up to them, he made them march and countermarch so as to get no ground ; and at last brought them into a country full of morasses and ditches, where every thing stopped and fatigued them.

Many suspected the treachery ; and above all Cassius, who returned to Carræ ; and, taking some Arabian guides, ordered them to conduct him by another route into Syria. The Arabians were superstitious about the moon, and pretended that they ought to stay till she had passed Scorpio. “ I am more afraid of

A. R. 699. "of Sagittarius," says Cassius to them, alluding to the
 Ant. C. Parthian arrows; and without losing time got safe
 53. into Syria with five hundred horse. The Lieutenant-
 general Octavius, a man of sense, was also aware of
 the perfidy of Andromachus; and, being conducted
 by faithful guides, gained with five thousand men who
 followed him an eminence called Sinnaca, where he
 had no longer reason to fear the enemies cavalry.

The day surprized Crassus, accompanied by his
 betrayer, yet engaged in those difficult, untoward,
 places I spoke of. Though pressed by the Parthians,
 who came up with great dispatch, he nevertheless
 found time to get to a small hill, half a league dis-
 tant from that which Octavius occupied; but these
 eminences communicated by a defile which crossed
 the valley. Octavius saw the danger of Crassus. He
 goes to him; and his men, animated by his example,
 follow. They place themselves round Crassus; and,
 making a rampart of their shields and bodies, en-
 courage one another to defend him; and vow that no
 arrow shall reach their General, till they have all lost
 their lives in his defence.

Surena, perceiving that the Parthians had no more
 the same superiority or courage as in the plains, and
 apprehending that the Romans would escape when
 the night was come by means of the mountains, had
 recourse according to his character to cunning and
 perfidy. He suffered some prisoners to escape, be-
 fore whom the Barbarians discoursing with one an-
 other had said on purpose that their King did not de-
 sign to wage an implacable war with the Romans;
 and would be glad to regain their friendship by treat-
 ing Crassus with generosity. Besides, he ceased hos-
 tilities: and at last advanced himself with great calm-
 ness towards the hill, with the principal Officers of
 his army, having his bow unbent, and holding out
 his hand as a friend; and invited Crassus to enter into
 a negotiation with him. "Arsaces, says he, is sorry
 "to have been obliged to give the Romans proofs of
 "his power, and the valour of his people; but will be
 "glad

"glad to give them marks of his mildness and good-
"nefs."

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Ant. C.
53.

This discourse made no impression on Crassus. Too often imposed on by the Parthians, and seeing no reason for so sudden a change, he would not hear his proposals. The Roman soldiers would not permit him to act as he thought proper; they complained seditiously, that he should expose them to the danger of fighting with those people who frightened him even unarmed. Crassus tried all methods to bring his soldiers to reason. He represented to them, that, if they would but have patience the rest of the day, they should all escape into the mountains by favour of the night. He pointed out the route with his hand; and conjured them not to renounce the means of safety, which were certain, and near at hand. But an unsuccessful General has little authority with his army. Crassus, perceiving his soldiers grew angry, and clashed their javelins against their shields with indignation and threats, was afraid to exasperate them too much. He therefore generously resolved to go to certain death: and nothing can be more laudable than the sentiments he manifested in that fatal moment. He turned to Octavius, and some other General-officers who followed him: "You see," says he, "the necessity I am under of taking this step; and "you are witnesses that I am treated unworthily and "with violence. But, in whatever place a better "fortune conducts you, report that Crassus perished "deceived by his enemies; not delivered up by his "soldiers." Octavius, and those who accompanied him, would not abandon their General; but Crassus sent back his lictors.

He saw first come to meet him two sorts of Deputies, or Heralds, half Greeks, half Barbarians; who, as soon as they perceived him, quitted their horses, prostrated themselves before him, and besought him in Greek, to send some of his people who might satisfy him that Surena and all his retinue were unarmed. Crassus answered, that, if he had the least regard for his

A.R. 699. his life, he should not have trusted himself in the
 Ant. C. hands of the Parthians. However, he sent two Ro-
 53. mans, brothers, called the Roscii; to learn the condi-
 tions of the interview, and the number of those Su-
 rena was to bring to it. The Roscii were stopped;
 and immediately Surena himself advances on horseback
 with his retinue; and, keeping up to his character, he
 exclaims on Crassus's being on foot. "How, says he,
 "the Roman General on foot, and we, we are on horse-
 "back!" Crassus answered him coldly, that they were
 neither to blame, since they both followed the custom
 of their country.

Surena then entered on business; and, as if he had
 been in earnest, said that from that moment peace
 was concluded between the King of Parthia and the
 Romans; but that they must write. "For, adds he,
 "you Romans have not given us reason to rely much
 "on the goodness of your memories, with regard to
 "treaties." He then proposed to Crassus to go towards
 the river, to prepare and sign the articles. The Ro-
 man General, determined to comply in all things,
 ordered a horse to be brought him. "It is not neces-
 sary, replies Surena, here is one of which the King
 "desires your acceptance." At the same time he pre-
 sented Crassus with a horse, with rich trappings; and
 the equerries set him on, and began to whip the horse
 to make him go fast.

Surena's design became now manifest; he wanted
 to take Crassus alive. The Romans perceived it;
 and Octavius immediately seized the bridle of Crassus's
 horse. Petronius, a military Tribune, and the other
 Officers surround their General, force the horse back-
 wards, and disperse the Barbarians who crowded about
 Crassus. This was not done without noise and tu-
 mult; and they soon came to blows. Octavius kills
 the groom of one of the Barbarians; and is himself
 slain, being run through the back with a lance. Pe-
 tronius is thrown off his horse. Crassus too defended
 himself with vigour, to prevent his being taken alive.
 He succeeded; and was killed, either by the Parthi-
 ans;

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53.

ns; or by some of his own people, who, entering into his views, had a mind to spare him the shame of becoming a prisoner to the Barbarians. The Parthians cut off his head and right-hand, to carry in triumph to Orodes. However, the circumstances of Crassus's death are not absolutely certain, as Plutarch informs us, for ocular testimony is wanting. Of those that accompanied that unfortunate General into the plain, some were slain on the spot; the rest, when they saw their danger, retreated speedily towards the hill.

After the slaughter of the Generalissimo, and the principal Commanders; the soldiers, who by their mutiny had occasioned this last disaster, were soon involved in it. The perfidious Surena came again, and endeavoured to decoy them with his fine promises. He told them, that the vengeance of Arsaces was satisfied by the death of the guilty person; and that now the innocent soldiers might descend into the plain with safety. Many believed him, and, putting themselves into his hands, were made prisoners. Those who had the most courage, and sense, waited for night to disperse. But few of these got off; for the Arabians scoured the country, and pursued them so diligently, that they killed, or took, the greatest part of them. It is computed that the whole loss of the Romans in the several actions amounted to twenty thousand killed, and ten thousand made prisoners.

Thus perished a powerful army, which had made the East tremble; and which the incapacity and blindness of its General made a prey to adversaries, never indeed easily conquered by the Romans, but who were certainly inferior to them.

Crassus was indeed very unfit to head a great enterprise. This appeared throughout his whole conduct: and, generally speaking, a person infected with the shameful vice of avarice must be a low man, and incapable of any elevation; or at best only so by fallies and intervals. Crassus was a small genius, altogether

A.R. 699. unacquainted with himself. Though adroit in flattering others, he was the dupe of flatterers himself Ant. C. 53. and, though justly reproachable for his excessive avareice, he rallied those who had the same fault. This vain, jeering, character is perfectly compatible with a presumptuous confidence; and that presumption was the principal cause of Crassus's ruin. For he always heartily despised the Parthians till the very instant that he found himself crushed by them; far from practising or even knowing, that maxim of great Captains, * that you should fear your enemy at a distance, that you may not fear him when near.

Val. Max. Surena, after the victory, shewed all the insolence I. 6. of a Barbarian. He left the body of Crassus exposed Plut. with the rest, to dogs and birds of prey. He sent his head and hand, as I said before, to Orodes, who was then in Armenia: and, as for himself, he made his entry into Seleucia with a comic pomp, to which he gave the title of Triumph, to insult the Romans. Having sent an express to the inhabitants of that city to acquaint them, that he brought with him Crassus alive; he took from among the prisoners him who most resembled him, dressed him in the Barbarian manner, and even, according to the text of Appian, as a Barbarian woman. In this equipage they set him on a horse, and all those about him called him Crassus and treated him as the General; he too was obliged to act his part in the farce, by answering as if he had really been Crassus. Before him went trumpeters, a sort of lictors mounted on camels. To the fasces these mock lictors hung purses; and by the axes were seen many bloody Roman heads. The procession was closed by some courtesans and musick girls of Seleucia who vied with one another in singing songs full of railing and satire on the cowardice and effeminacy of Crassus.

* It was the maxim of the great Condé. Or. Fun. de M. le Prince par Bossuet.

Such was the spectacle which the Parthian General exhibited to the city of Seleucia. In the Senate, he flourished about the Milesian tales, which did not quite square with decency, that were found among the baggage of a Roman Officer: and censured with great severity that taste for loose writings, carried even into the army, and the enemies presence. The reflection was just in itself; but by no means became him who made it: and called to mind to the Seleucians, says Plutarch, the fable of the Wallet. It seemed that Æsop in that apologue had Surena in view; who put into the pouch before some free tales read by an enemy; and carried in that behind his own debauches, more extravagant than all reproached to the Sybaritæ; and the licentiousness of a seraglio where he reckoned his concubines by hundreds; so that, adds the historian, nothing could worse agree than the head and tail of the Parthian army. The front of it was terrible; lances, arrows, horses in compleat steel: and its rear consisted of tabors, dissolute dances, and a groupe of shameless women.

I have already mentioned that Orodes was gone into Armenia. It was there Crassus's head was brought him. Peace had been just concluded between Orodes and Artabazus; and cemented by the marriage of a sister of the King of Armenia with Patorus, the eldest son of the Parthian King. These nuptials were then actually celebrating; and the tragedy of the Mænades of Euripides was then acting before the two Kings. For those Princes understood, and were fond of, the Greek tongue; and Artabazus was even able to write it, and compose in it in verse and prose. The Parthian Officer, who had the head of Crassus in charge, having presented it to the King during the entertainment, one of the actors took it; and, acting the part of Argave carrying the head of Pentheus, repeated the verses which Euripides puts into the mouth of that frantic mother: "I bring, from the mountains to the palace, some game just killed;

A.R. 699. killed ; fortunate and noble chace." This application
Ant. C. gave great pleasure to the Parthian King, and the
Dio. Flor. ^{53.} whole assembly. Some authors have moreover re-
III. 2. ported, that Orodes caused melted gold to be poured
into Crassus's mouth ; thereby insulting his insatiable
avarice.

THE

ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK THE FORTY-SECOND.

Domestic troubles. Clodius's death. Pompey's third Consulship. Condemnation of Milo. Seventh and eighth Campaigns of Cæsar in Gaul. Cicero's Proconsulship in Cilicia. Years of Rome 698—702.

S E C T. I.

The death of Crassus fatal to the Roman liberty. Death of Julia, Caesar's daughter and Pompey's wife. She is interred in the Campus Martius. Plancius accused. Cicero's gratitude. Three old Tribunes accused; and one of them condemned. Scaurus accused, and acquitted. Cato Praetor. Singularity of his dress. Extravagant caballing of the Candidates. Cato opposes this disorder; and, being in consequence of it insulted by the populace, quiets them authoritatively. Compromise of the Candidates for the Tribunehip, under the guarantee of Cato. Intrigues for the Consulship. Infamous agreement between the Candidates and the Consuls. Pottinius's triumph. Long Interregnum, occasioned principally by Pompey's ambition. The Tribunes also contribute thereto. Consuls named at last with Pompey's assistance. Fruiless endeavours of the Consuls to appoint

C O N T E N T S.

successors. Ædileship of Favonius, Cato's imitator. Cato regulates the expence of Favonius's shews, with much simplicity; which is notwithstanding relished by the people. Furious cabals of the Candidates for the Consulship, Milo, Hypsæus, and Metellus Scipio. The wishes of the best Romans for Milo. His Competitors bad for them Pompey and Clodius. Clodius killed by Milo. Great disturbance at Rome on account of Clodius's death and funeral. Nomination of an Interrex. Milo returns to Rome, and continues to sollicit for the Consulship. Continuation of the troubles. Sallust, then Tribune, personal enemy of Milo. Cælius on the contrary protects him. Extraordinary zeal of Cicero in Milo's defence. Pompey is created Consul alone. Pompey's satisfaction. His thanks to Cato, who answers him harshly. Pompey marries Cornelia, daughter of Metellus Scipio. Pompey's new laws against force and corruption. He reforms and abridges judicial proceedings. Milo accused. Cicero is disconcerted in his defence of him. General idea of the oration we have of Cicero for Milo. Address of the orator in handing what regarded Pompey. He substitutes his own intreaties and tears in the room of those that Milo disdained to employ. Milo is condemned. He retires to Marseille. His saying about the oration which Cicero composed after his trial. Other judgments in consequence of this affair. Metellus Scipio, being accused of corruption, is saved by Pompey; who on the contrary refuses his assistance to Hypsæus and Scaurus. Pompey names for his Colleague Metellus Scipio. Laudable passages in Pompey's conduct during his third Consulship. He commits a great fault in dispensing with Cæsar's asking for the Consulship in person. Motive to this compliance in Pompey. Metellus Scipio re-establishes the Censorship in its antient rights. Horrible debauch of this restorer of the Censorship. Cato Candidate for the Consulship with Sulpicius and Marcellus. He is refused. His constancy after this refusal. He renounces the Consulship for ever.

THE

THE defeat and death of Crassus were not only fatal to the glory of Rome, but also to its republic. It is probable that, so long as Pomp. Crassus lived, the rupture between Pompey and Cæsar would not have broke out. For he kept them in order, and made them afraid of one another; because, which way foever he inclined, he would have turned the scale. When he was gone, Pompey and Cæsar were in a condition to push their pretensions and disputes to extremities; as there was no umpire between them, nor any one to make a counterbalance. From that time they both prepared for action. “ * So insufficient, says Plutarch, is the highest fortune to satisfy the heart of man. Such a vast Empire, such an immense extent of land and sea, was not enough for two men. They had heard, and read in Homer, Il. l. XV. that the Gods divided the universe into three parts, v. 189. and had each their peculiar allotment; yet they thought the Roman Empire too small for them two.”

Another bond of amity between these two famous Rivals was just cancelled by the death of Julia, the daughter of one and wife of the other. This lady was tenderly beloved both by her father and spouse, and therefore was a strong tie between the father and son-in-law. When Pompey, tired out with the insolence of Clodius after Cicero's banishment, was seeking means to reconcile himself to the Senate and aristocratic party, one of his friends advised him to divorce Julia. But his tenderness for her would not let him follow that counsel. Nothing but death was able to divide him from a wife so loved, and so worthy of love. Julia died in childbed; and her infant followed her in a few days. So that no pledge, no trace, remained of

A. R. 698.

Ant. C.

54.

* Οὐτος ἡ τοχὴ μικρὸς εἰσὶ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν· καὶ γε αὐτὸς πιμελῶντις αυτὸς τὴν σπηλαιὰν, ὅπου τοστὸν Καδος ἡγεμόνας καὶ μεγάλος εὐρυχωρίς δύοιν αρθροῖς εἰς ἕπειχεν· αὐτὸς ακούστες καὶ απαγνωσκούστες ὅτι τριχθά δε πάντα διδάσκει τοις θεοῖς, εκάστος δὲ μικρὸς τύμπανος, εκούσιος εκ τρομής αρκεῖν δύστη τοι τὴν Παραιτεῖν αρχὴν.

* A learned English Editor, instead of this word which makes an obscurity, reads *sufficiet*, sufficed.

DOMITIUS, CLAUDIUS, Consuls.

A. R. 69⁸. an affinity, which, though it could not hinder ambition from growing in the hearts of Cæsar and Pompey, yet suspended its effects.
 Ant. C. 54.

Julia, instead of being deposited in her family vault, was interred in the Campus Martius; the people having a mind to do an extraordinary honour to Cæsar's daughter. Pompey had made preparations for burying her near his house at Alba, and the Tribunes opposed the desire of the multitude; but every thing was obliged to give way to a people used to give law, and who were extremely desirous to shew their zeal both for the father and the daughter. This happened in the Consulship of Domitius and Ap. Claudius.

A. R. 69⁸.

Ant. C.
54.

L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS.

AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

I have related what happened out of Rome under this Consulship, and during the following year. The domestic events, the accusations of great men, the intrigues, the cabals, the disorders of the Government, is what I must now lay before the reader.

Cic. pro
Plancio.

I shall begin with the affair of Plancius, who was accused of obtaining corruptly the Curule AEdileship; and defended by Cicero. His Competitor was M. Juventius Laterensis, a man of birth and merit; from whom he had carried it, though only son of a Roman Knight, Laterensis, who reckoned Consuls among his ancestors on both sides, and who besides knew himself personally superior to his rival in every thing, was extremely mortified at that preference; and accused Plancius of having supplanted him by intrigues and bribery. It is difficult, and immaterial to us, to know exactly how the affair was. But the warm gratitude of Cicero to a benefactor is a circumstance very interesting.

We have seen with what cordiality Plancius, when Quæstor in Macedonia, had received and protected Cicero in his exile. Our Orator remembered it, when Plancius stood in need of his eloquence: and, notwithstanding

withstanding he had some engagement with Laterensis, took warmly the part of the accused. As he had great weight, not only on account of his great abilities, but also by his interest, by the general opinion of his probity, and by the remembrance of his services to his country for which he had been so ill rewarded, Laterensis was aware how great a recommendation it was to his antagonist to be defended by Cicero, as one from whom he had received essential service. He therefore insisted, that Cicero exaggerated what Plancius had done for him, and magnified in his favour some little things that had cost Plancius no great matter. Cicero answers this reproach in a manner worthy of admiration. He begins by proving the reality of Plancius's services ; he then adds, that, after all, the reproach made him is too great a compliment for him to wish heartily to refute it. * " For," says he, " I would willingly be adorned with every virtue, but there is none I am so ambitious of as that of Gratitude. That virtue, in my mind, is, not only the greatest, but the mother of all the others. What is filial piety, but an attachment arising from

* Etenim, quum omnibus virtutibus me affectum esse cupiam, tamen nihil est quod malim, quam me & Gratum esse, & videri. Hæc est enim una virtus non solum maxima, sed etiam mater virtutum omnium reliquarum. Quid pietas, nisi voluntas grata in parentes? Qui sunt boni cives, qui belli, qui domi de patria, bene merentes, nisi qui patriæ beneficia meminerunt? Qui sancti, qui religionem colentes, nisi qui meritam diis immortalibus gratiam iustis honoribus & memori mente persolvunt? Quæ potest esse iucunditas vita sublatis amicitiis? quæ porro amicitia potest esse inter ingratos? quis est nostrum liberaliter educatus, cui non magistri atque doctores, cui non locus ille mutus ubi ipse alitus aut doctus est, cum grata recordatione in mente versatur? Cujus opes tantæ esse possunt, aut unquam fuerunt, quæ sine multorum amicorum officiis stare possint? quæ certè, sublatâ memoriam & gratiam, nulla extare possunt. Evidem nil tam proprium hominis existimo, quam non modo beneficio, sed etiam benevolentiae significatione alligari: nihil porro tam inhumani, tam immane, tam ferum, quam committere, ut beneficio non dicam indignus, sed victus, esse videare. Quæ quum ita sint, jam succumbam, Laterensis, isti tuo criminis: meque in eo ipso in quo nihil potest esse nimium, quoniam ita tu vis, nimium gratum esse concedam: petamque a vobis, judices, ut eum beneficio complectamini, quem qui reprehendit, in eo reprehendit quod gratum præter modum dicat esse. CIC. pro Plancio, 80—82.

A. R. 69^s. a grateful sense of the benefits received from our parents? What are good members of the Society, ready to do it service in peace and war, but such as chearfully cherish the remembrance of what they owe their country? Who religious men but those that endeavour to repay what they are indebted to the Deity by adoration and thanks? What pleasure would there be in life, if friendship was excluded; and can friendship subsist with Ingratitude? Which of us, who has had a liberal education, does not frequently recollect with grateful tenderness those who took care of his childhood, his tutors, his masters, nay the place itself where he was brought up and instructed? Was there ever, or can there be, a man so potent, as to stand alone without the services of many friends? And services imply Gratitude, nor continue without it. As for me, I think nothing so worthy of a man, as to be affected, not only by a benefit received, but even by a good intention shewn: and on the contrary, nothing seems to me so opposite to humanity, so brutish, as to be deservedly reckoned, I say not as one unworthy of an obligation, but even as one who does not endeavour to return it. Wherefore, Laterensis, I admit your accusation. Gratitude, in my opinion, cannot be too extensive; but, since you will have it so, I own I have been Grateful to an excess. And I beg you, Judges, to lay under an obligation a man, who is accused of nothing but being Overgrateful."

Who can refuse his esteem and affection to a man that expresses such sentiments? I fancy Laterensis repented of his criticising on, and even attempting to ridicule, Cicero's sensibility for his benefactors. There is reason to believe that Plancius was acquitted, and was actually Ædile this year.

The three Tribunes who two years before had hindered the election of Magistrates, and occasioned an Interregnum, could not be brought to justice under the Consulship of Pompey and Crassus, as they in some

some sort owed to them their nomination. But they A. R. 69^a.
 were accused this year; though Pompey's interest saved Ant. C.
 them all except Procilius, who being convicted of a
 murther could not escape condemnation. "It appears Cic. ad
 by this sentence, says Cicero to Atticus with an irony Att. IV.
 full of indignation, that our Judges are severer than
 those of the Areopagus; Judges, who reckon as no-
 thing corruption, the illegal nomination of Magis-
 trates, the Interregnum, the offended majesty of the
 State, in a word, the total confusion of the Republic;
 only we must take care not to murther a man in his
 own house. And then we are not infallibly lost; for
 Procilius had two and twenty favourable voices,
 against eight and twenty that condemned him."

Cicero was not concerned in this affair. But he Ascon.
 had without that business enough on his hands on ac- Cic. pro
 count of the great number of accused persons whose Scauro.
 defence he undertook. Besides Gabinius and Vatinius,
 of whom we have elsewhere spoke, and some others,
 he pleaded for M. Scaurus; who having governed Sar-
 dinia the last year, and being returned to Rome to
 make interest for the Consulship, was accused by Tri-
 riarius of Extortion and Oppression, committed on the
 people subjected to his authority.

This was a great cause. The name and family of
 the accused; his connexion with Pompey, whose chil-
 dren were brothers to his children, for he had mar-
 ried Mucia, after she was divorced by Pompey; the
 popularity he had acquired by his excessive expences
 in his Ædileship; the reputation of his Council, to
 the number of six, namely, Clodius, M. Marcellus,
 M. Callidius, Cicero, M. Messalla, and Hortensius,
 the recommendation of nine Consular persons, of
 whom some praised him *viva voce*, and the rest sent
 their encomiums in writing, which were read to the au-
 dience; all these circumstances united made this cause
 one of the most famous and important that had ap-
 peared for a long time.

Scaurus indeed had occasion for all this external as-
 sistance to defend himself against accusations but too
 well

A.R. 69⁸. well founded. We have seen, from the time he served
 Ant. C. in Syria under Pompey, he had given proofs of avarice and injustice. The bad condition, to which the
 54. extravagancy of his Ædileship had brought his private affairs, was a new motive to plundering the unhappy Sardinians. His prosecutor made him this challenge : * “ The law allows me to examine sixscore witnesses. If you can produce the same number of the Sardinians, from whom you have took nothing, I consent to your being acquitted.” And Scaurus durst not lay hold of so fair an offer.

We should be able to give a more particular account of this affair, had we the oration of Cicero ; but it is lost. All we know is, that Scaurus employed every kind of intreaty and humiliation to soften his Judges. He pleaded himself his cause after all his Council, and wept much. When it was put to the vote, he divided into two bands his relations who sollicited for him ; and he himself being at the head of one ; and Faustus Sylla, his brother by the mother, at the head of the other ; they threw themselves at the feet of the Judges, and continued thus prostrate all the time of the deliberation. He was acquitted ; and even with honour. For, of sixty-eight voters, there were but eight against him.

Plut. Cat. Cato presided at this Judgment : which would sufficiently answer for its integrity, were we as sure of the virtue of the Judges as of that of the President. He was that year Praetor ; and, by a singularity that I cannot approve, he appeared in public, and in the functions of his office, without a tunic under his gown ; and instead of shoes he had only soles tied to his feet. He pretended in this to restore the ancient manner ; and defended it by the statues of Romulus

* We may conjecture that the law, in causes about Extortion and Oppression, had limited the number of witnesses to sixscore ; that the prosecutor, through too much warmth and eagerness, might not examine an extravagant number : which would have lengthened the proceedings, unpeopled for a time the oppressed province, and incommoded Rome with a multitude of foreigners.

and

and Camillus, which had only a toga without a tunic. A. R. 69⁸.
But surely in indifferent things the present custom is Ant. C.
the best rule. 54.

That which does him real honour, is the constancy with which he opposed corruption; and the respect which his virtue procured him from those whom all the laws could not restrain.

Corruption was an old evil in the Roman constitution, which acquired every day new strength. All authors who have wrote of these times have accounted one of the most fatal disorders, and one of the principal causes of the civil war, * “ the Consular fasces extorted by illicit bounty, the people’s selling themselves their interest, and a detestable caballing that occasioned every year furious battles in the Campus Martius, where money alone determined the votes of a venal multitude.” This bribery was transacted openly, as if permitted by the laws; and was to many people a profession, and their main support.

Cato, determined to attack this disorder with so much the more vigour, as it was the deeper rooted and more universal, engaged the Senate to make a decree, that all who were elected to offices should be obliged, though not accused, to come before the Judges, and give an account how they came to be nominated. This ordinance much displeased the Candidates; and yet more the People, who had been used to make an advantage of their votes. In the morning then, Cato, being come to his tribunal, was presently surrounded by a seditious mob, who by their clamours followed by blows put to flight those who accompanied him. He himself, being pushed and jostled about, with great difficulty reached the Rostra. But, when he was once there, by his very looks, and that air of authority which virtue gives, he stilled the tumult and made silence; and his bold, generous harangue entirely pacified the people. He was much

* Hinc rapti pretio fasces, sectorque favoris
Ipse sui populus, lethalisque ambitus urbi
Annua venali referens certamq[ue] campo. LUC. I. 178.

A. R. 69. commended in the Senate for his resolution and constancy : “ But I, answered he with his usual freedom, “ cannot commend you for not assisting a Praetor in so “ imminent danger.”

Cic. ad Att. IV. 25. & ad Q. Fr. II. 25. Although it does not appear that this decree of the Senate concerning the Candidates was carried into execution ; nevertheless it much embarrassed them. If they made interest in the usual manner, they apprehended they should arm against them the severe virtue of Cato : if they did not, they feared they should be distanced by some less scrupulous Competitor. The Candidates for the Tribuneship came to an agreement under Cato’s guarantee, acknowledging him for Umpire and Judge of their conduct, and submitting each of them, in case of corruption, to pay five hundred thousand sesterces to the others. They would even have deposited these sums with him, but he declined it ; and contented himself with taking security. Cicero, writing this piece of news to his brother and Atticus, was at a loss what to conjecture about the event. “ But if things, said he, go on in this manner, Cato alone will have more power than all the Laws and all the Judges together.” Plutarch informs us, that, the day for electing Tribunes being come, Cato went to the assembly ; examined strictly all that past, and pronounced sentence of condemnation against one of the Candidates. The others dispensed with the payment of the forfeit, esteeming themselves sufficiently avenged by the infamy he underwent, and by his exclusion from the office.

This deference paid to Cato’s virtue is certainly very extraordinary ; and is a fact scarce to be paralleled in history. But Plutarch observes, that it procured him great envy ; and that many endeavoured to make it pass for a sort of crime ; as if he had usurped the power of the Senate, the Judges, and the Magistrates. This malice ought not to surprize us. “ For, * adds the sage historian, there is no reputation more

* Οὐδεμίας γε πρήτης δοξά οὐ πίστις επιθύμου πούσι μάλαν η την δικαιούμενη, ινδι συναρπάσι αυτη η πίστις επιτασ μάλασα φέρε την πόλιν η γε τιμωτι πόλιν, οι

subject to envy than that arising from probity and justice, because there is none more likely to give a man power and credit with the generality of people. The brave man is admired, but he is feared also; the prudent is esteemed, but he is suspected; we are very differently disposed towards the just man; we love him, we trust to his word, we give ourselves up to him without reserve." So that lovers of power and glory cannot help being jealous of the splendor inseparable from so beneficent a virtue as justice. This then is the treatment that the good man must expect in this world. Happy is he who knows, and loves, another country, where envy has no more place!

The Candidates for the Consulship were far from imitating the conduct of those for the Tribuneship. They bribed so high, and borrowed so much to pursue votes, that the interest of money doubled upon it, and rose on a sudden from four to eight per Cent. These Candidates were four in number; two Patricians, Messala and Scaurus, who had been lately accused of Extortion and acquitted; and two Plebeians, Domitius Calvinus and Memmius. This last was supported by Cæsar. Pompey espoused Scaurus's interest, rather in appearance than fact; for, though they were in some sort related, the children of one being, as I said, brothers of those of the other, Pompey was but little influenced by this kind of affinity; being rather displeased that Scaurus set so little value on his judgment as to marry a woman divorced by him for her ill-conduct. Domitius and Messala too wanted not their friends and parties. But after all, no one of the Candidates had a visible superiority over his rivals. Money alone decided, and made every other distinction vanish.

The struggle lasted long. Some new accident continually retarded the election; and at last the four Candidates were all accused of Bribery. Cicero, sup-

τοις ανδρεσις, καὶ Σαυμαζησον, ἐτ τοις φρονιμις, αλλα καὶ φάντοι τοις δίκαιοις, καὶ θερησοι αυτοις καὶ πιστευσοι. εκπονησε τοις μηροις φοβερται, τοις δια απειγον.

posing

A. R. 698, posing he should have all these bad causes to defend,
 Ant. C. jests thereupon with Atticus. * “ You will ask me
 54— doubtless, says he, what I can say for such people. Let me die, if I can tell. At least I find nothing to the purpose in those books I have composed about Rhetoric, that you are so pleased with.”

He was not embarrassed without reason. For things were pushed to that excess of indecency, that there was an agreement made between the Consuls and two of the Candidates, Domitius and Memmius, not merely verbal, but in writing and gauranteed by several friends of the contracting parties ; by which these two Candidates engaged to pay, in case they were chose, to each of the Consuls four hundred thousand sesterces ; unless the Consuls chose to have provided for them three Augurs and two Consular Persons, who should authorize for them, by a solemn authentic declaration, a false law and a false Senatus-consultum which they wanted, concerning the Governments they were to have, when they quitted their office. This agreement was read by Memmius himself in full Senate ; but he suppressed all the names except those of the contracting parties. This seems enough to have made the Consuls die with shame. And in fact Ahenobarbus, who had always affected the reputation of an honest man, was horribly confounded. Appius, who had no character to lose, was not at all disconcerted. But nothing more was done in this infamous affair, which is not I believe to be paralleled in history. All this complication of iniquity so retarded the elections, that the year expired before Consuls were appointed.

In this confusion Pontinius's triumph gave fresh trouble. This General, having had some success against the Allobroges, before Cæsar took the command of the army in Gaul, was returned, with an ambition for, and hopes of, a triumph ; and had been

* Quid poteris, inquies, pro iis dicere ? Ne vivam, scio. In illis quidem libris, quos tu dilaudas, nil reperio. IV. ad Att. 16.

five years at the gates of Rome, without having been A. R. 699.
able to obtain it: probably because the small advan- Ant. C.
tages he had gained did not deserve so great honour. Dio. I.
However, he at last got over the principal difficulties, 53.
chiefly by Galba's assistance, who was then Prætor, and xxxix.
had been Cæsar's Lieutenant. But he had Cato still to Cic. ad At.
conquer; who had protested that Pontinius should ne- XIV. 16.
ver triumph, while he was alive. Cato had said too
much. The Consul Appius and the major part of the
Prætors and Tribunes supported Pontinius. There
was some disturbance; and even some blood shed;
but at length Pontinius entered the city in triumph on
the third of November.

The Republic was without Consuls on the first of January; and was obliged to have recourse to an Interrex. The same causes, which had hitherto hindered the election of the ordinary Magistrates, retarded it still a long time. The principal of these, and that which gave force to the rest, was Pompey's ambition. He alone had then more power than the whole Republic; and could easily, had he so pleased, have put a stop to the caballing, and enforced the execution of the laws. But he let the disorder increase on purpose, that it might come to such an excess as to make a recourse to him absolutely necessary.

It is more than probable that his plan was to get himself appointed Dictator. But he concealed his intention; and dissembling always, and attaining his ends by uncommon methods, he took in this, as in every thing else, an oblique way; and had a mind to appear forced to that which he passionately desired. Besides, he respected, to a certain degree, public order; was an enemy to open force; and had not, like Cæsar, a daring spirit that broke down every barrier, and carried with a high hand what he could not obtain by favour, and paid no regard to laws and decency. He should, however, have pursued this plan to arrive at the Dictatorship. The very name was become detestable since Sylla's time; and the whole Aristocratic party, which though humbled was not

A. R. 699. annihilated, would have opposed to their utmost the re-establishment of that odious magistrate. Pompey Ant. C. 53. hazarded the experiment by a desperado Tribune of the People. (For the Tribuneship depended not on the election of Consuls, and subsisted even during an Interregnum.) This Tribune, named C. Lucceius Hirrus, having dropped some hints leading to a Dictatorship, was handled so roughly by Cato, that he was almost reduced to throw up his office.

Another thing that contributed to delay the nomination of Consuls was, that it was the interest of the Tribunes to hinder it. While the other Magistracies were vacant, theirs was much more important; and * some of them took upon them this year to exhibit to the People the spectacles, which was the proper business of the Praetors. They proposed also, if we may credit Dio, to place at the head of the Republic, as had been done formerly, not Consuls, but military Tribunes with Consular authority, whose number had been often augmented to six. This increase of Magistrates would have satisfied the ambition of more Candidates, and seemed to agree with the immense extent of the Empire. But, if this proposal was ever made, it was not relished, nor carried into execution.

These intrigues lasted full six months; some part of which time Pompey was absent from Rome, the better to disguise the share he had in the troubles that afflicted the city. Being returned at length, and commended by Cato for his seeming refusal of the Dictatorship, shame prevented his falsifying the panegyric. He condescended to protect order and law; and the Republic, with the assistance of one of its

* Among the Tribunes who hindered the election of Consuls, Dio names Q. Pompeius Rufus; and adds that the Senate sent him to prison. This is a fact I can scarce believe, as it is not to be paralleled in all the history of the Roman Republic. The persons of the Tribunes were sacred; and it was this privilege that made them so haughty and audacious. Besides, it is clear, from the testimony of Asconius Pedianus, that this Pompeius Rufus was Tribune the year after. Now it was no longer the custom to continue the Magistrates several years; and, if there had been an exception in favour of Pompeius, Asconius should have taken notice of it.

members, was able to give itself Magistrates. Do-^{A. R. 699.}
mitius and Messala were elected Consuls in the month <sup>Ant. C.
53.</sup> of July.

CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.

M. VALERIUS MESSALA.

These Consuls had scarce took possession of their office, before it was time to appoint their successors ; and the old difficulties were renewed. So that all their administration may be reduced to some unsuccessful endeavours to elect Consuls for the ensuing year ; except, that at their request a *Senatusconsultum* passed, by which the Consuls and Praetors were not for the future to have Governments conferred on them, till five years after the expiration of their respective offices. As the Government of Provinces was the great object of the ambition of the principal Romans, it was imagined, that, by procrastinating them, the boundless ardor, with which those places that gave a title to them were pursued, would be somewhat abated. A poor remedy, far from diving to the bottom of the sore !

Besides this specious, public, reason, ostentatiously given, Cæsar informs us there was also a private, concealed, one, for this new regulation. He says it was <sup>Cæs. de B.
Civ. I. 85.</sup> levelled at him ; to the intent that, the Governments being no longer appropriated to the actual Consuls and Praetors, a few people, namely, Pompey and his partizans, might have the disposal of those important employments, and thus keep all the provinces under their influence. We shall see in fact, that what was here only ordered by a decree of the Senate, will next year be authorized by a solemn law, proposed by Pompey to the People.

Dio * places in this year the Ædileship of Favonius ; which authorizes me to speak of it in this place.

* This Historian relates, that the Ædile Favonius was put in prison by the Tribune Q. Pompeius Rufus, who had himself been imprisoned before by order of the Senate. As I much suspect the fact of the

A. R. 699. Favonius set up for an imitator of Cato; but, as he
 Ant. C. had a hot head that ran into extremes, he even went
 Plut. Cat. ^{53.} beyond his model, who was, as I have elsewhere ob-
 served, extravagant enough himself. Cato, however,
 esteemed and patronized him; and was very service-
 able to him in his pursuit of the AEdileship. For Fa-
 vonius had like to have been excluded by the intrigues
 of his Competitor; but Cato discovered their unfair
 proceedings, and broke up the assembly by the au-
 thority of the Tribunes, whose assistance he im-
 plored.

As Favonius was obliged to Cato for his office, so
 he conducted himself in it by his advice; and trans-
 ferred in a manner to him all his power and honour.
 Particularly, the public shews, the exhibition of
 which was one of the most honourable functions of
 the AEdileship, were ordered by Cato: he presided at
 them, and regulated their expence, but after his own
 taste and manner. He retrenched all pomp and ex-
 travagance, and affected to restore the simplicity of
 antient times. Instead of crowns of gold, he gave
 for prizes to the actors and musicians wreaths of olive,
 as practised at the Olympic games. It was customary
 to give much money at these spectacles. Cato distri-
 buted only cheap things; to the Greeks herbs and
 fruits, as beet, lettuce, radishes, peats; to the Ro-
 mans wine, pork, figs, cucumbers, and milk.

This simplicity was by many accounted stinginess;
 nor is it surprizing. The same thing had happened
 formerly to Tubero, on occasion of the treat he gave
 the People, at the decease of Scipio Africanus. But
 what demonstrates that, even in times of general cor-
 ruption, there is in the people a discernment of vir-
 tue; and that the Great have it in their power to form
 the taste of the multitude, had they the courage to
 attempt it, instead of suffering themselves to be car-

imprisonment of the Tribune, and even greatly doubt whether Q. Pompeius was Tribune that year, the date of Favonius's AEdileship, according to Dio, seems to me very uncertain. But it is an affair of small importance.

ried

A. R. 699.
Ant. C.
53.

ced away by the torrent ; is that, generally speaking, the Romans were satisfied with Cato's shews. They left those of Favonius's Colleague, which were extremely magnificent, to go and see Cato unbend himself, and share in the public diversion. Favonius, who should have presided, mixed with the crowd, applauded, and invited the spectators to applaud, Cato, who was in the seat of honour. The whole was conducted with that simple uniform gaiety, which is rarely to be found in superb entertainments. Cato was much pleased to have shewn with how much ease, and how small expence, those shews might be exhibited, which usually cost so great sums and care.

To others they were an expensive, serious, affair; to him, a cheap diversion.

The assemblies for the election of Consuls were often held, without coming to any conclusion; nor have we any thing remarkable to relate of them, except that in one of the scuffles the Consul Domitius was hurt. The year thus elapsed, and another Inter-Dio. regnum became necessary.

INTERREGNUM.

The first days of January passed without even an Interregnum in Rome. This total anarchy was occasioned by the caballing and violence of those who aspired to the Consulship. Milo, Hypseus, and Metellus Scipio, disputed this important office not with passion, but fury; and all the disorders and excesses yet seen on such occasions fell extremely short of those committed by these Competitors. Each of them had his little army, and every day exhibited bloody battles.

Amidst the common blame they all deserved by a conduct so repugnant to the laws of all Society, there was still some distinction to be made in Milo's favour. We may remember that, next to Pompey, he had the greatest share in recalling Cicero from banishment. From that time he had never warped. Steadily ad-

A. R. 700.
Ant. C.
52.
Ascon.
Cic. pro
Mil.

INTERREGNUM.

A. R. 500. hering to the better party, he had stickled courage-
 Ant. C. ously for the authority of the Senate, and the main-
 52. taining public order, against the fury of Clodius. Therefore most of the better people had declared for him. He had also gained the multitude by his exces-
 sive generosity; and by games and shews, whose extravagance had absorbed three rich inheritances. De-
 pending on these advantages, and being naturally san-
 guine, he accelerated as much as possible the election; not doubting of success. And his rivals seemed to ac-
 knowledge his superiority, by their aiming on the con-
 trary at delay and procrastination.

Cic. pro
Mil. 24,
85.
Ascon.

They were however supported by Pompey, whose Quæstor Hypsæus had been, and whose Father-in-law Metellus Scipio was soon to be. They had on their side too Clodius, who was Candidate for the Prætorship, and who dreaded nothing so much as to have Milo Consul when he was Prætor; and therefore em-
 ployed in opposing him all his credit and power; all the craft, and force, he was master of. Yet, thus powerfully seconded, they judged the best thing they could do was to prevent the Patricians from assembling and appointing an Interrex. Pompey, who had al-
 ways the Dictatorship in view, and for that reason chose to increase the confusion, served them with all his might; and T. Munatius Plancus Bursa, Tribune of the People, who had been bought by them, stopped by an opposition in form the nomination of an Interrex, which was a necessary preliminary to the election of Consuls.

Things went on thus to the eighteenth of January; on which day Milo had occasion to go to Lanuvium, a little town not far from Rome. His family either came originally from this town, or perhaps he was himself born there, and was then its first Magistrate. On that account he was to preside at the election of a Priest of Juno, the tutelar Divinity of Lanuvium. He sets out then in his coach, with his wife Fausta, daughter of the Dictator Sylla, and a friend; escorted by a great retinue, and particularly by many gladi-
 tors

A. R. 700.
Ant. C.
52.

tors that belonged to him. Clodius was also gone out of town that day on horseback, attended by thirty slaves well-armed: and on his return fell in with Milo's train. As the two masters were enemies, their people, used to skirmish with one another, presently quarrelled. Clodius comes up, and, mingling in the fray, receyues a considerable wound in the shoulder from one of Milo's gladiators. He thereupon orders his servants to carry him to an inn just by. But Milo, who was before, being informed of what had happened, immediately resolved to dispatch Clodius; apprehending he ran no less risque for the wound, than he should for the murther; and willing, if he was to perish, to have at least the consolation of having got rid of his enemy. He sends therefore his slaves, headed by one M. Saufeius, to force the inn. This they perform; drag Clodius out; cut his throat; and leave his corpse in the high-way: after which Milo continues his journey; and goes, as he at first intended, to Lanuvium. All the precaution he took was to make free those of his slaves who had wounded, and killed, Clodius; that he might not be compelled to deliver them up to the torture. For by the Roman laws free persons could not be racked.

A Senator, named Sex. Tedium, returning out of the country, came by chance by the place where Clodius's corpse lay; took it into his carriage, and brought it to Rome. Fulvia, Clodius's widow, (the same Fulvja, whom afterwards her marriage with Anthony, and fury against Cicero, made so famous;) an haughty ambitious woman, who in boldness and faction equalled the most determined men, exposed to public view in her hall the bloody corpse of her husband; and standing by it herself, melting in tears, shewed to all, whom that spectacle brought together, the wounds he had received. There flocked to her that night and the next day great numbers of that vile mob to whom Clodius had been so dear, and of whom he had made so good use in all his seditious enterprizes. The croud was so great that many people of distinction

INTERREGNUM.

A. R. 700. were stifled, and among others a Senator called C.
Ant. C. Vibienus.

52.

There wanted only Tribunes to authorize the commission of the greatest excesses. Plancus Bursa and Q. Pompeius Rufus came and performed that dishonourable office. By their authority the body of Clodius half-naked, in the pickle it then was, is carried to the Rostra. There the two Tribunes inveigh against Milo like madmen. The mob, inflamed more than ever by these harangues, and headed by Sex. Clodius, (who had been the ringleader and firebrand in all his Patron's seditions,) transport the corpse into the Hostilian palace; and erect a funeral pile with all the wood they can come at, Prætors tribunals, Judges benches and those of Senators, counters and shelves of the booksellers shops that surrounded the place. Such was their fury that the Hostilian palace and many private houses were burnt; and the Porcian court of justice, built by Cato the Censor, very much damaged by the fire. At the same time many of the populace ran with lighted torches, and firebrands, to fire Milo's house. But it was provided with those who could defend it; and who easily repulsed the mob. Others took the fasces of the funeral bed, and carried them to the houses of Scipio and Hypsaeus; as it were to appoint them Consuls; and afterwards ran with the same fasces to Pompey's gardens, proclaiming him sometimes Consul, sometimes Dictator.

The Senate, alarmed by so terrible a tumult, assembled that very evening; and took efficacious measures for the nomination of an Interrex. M. Lepidus was elected in a moment by the Patricians; and a Senatusconsultum passed, which ordered the Interrex, the Tribunes of the People, and Pompey in quality of Proconsul, to take care of the Republic. The same decree gave Pompey power to raise forces throughout Italy.

Milo's enemies had done him good service in bringing on themselves the public indignation by their excesses, and consequently diminishing the ill-will that

the

A. R. 700.
Ant. C.
52.

the murther of Clodius had at first raised against its author; and above all, the burning the Hostilian Palace, a place set apart from all antiquity for the meeting of the Senate, appeared with reason an horrible outrage. Cicero, in pleading for Milo, well exposed the heinousness of it by these few words: * “ We have seen the Temple where presided the sanctity of ancient maxims, and the majesty of the Empire; the sanctuary of policy, and public counsel; the chief place of the city; the Asylum of our allies; the port of all nations; we have seen this venerable place profaned by an impure corpse, given a prey to the flames, and so destroyed that no traces of it remain.”

Milo, who was an understanding courageous man, took advantage of his enemies error. His journey to Lanuvium, founded on warrantable reasons, afforded him a good pretence to be absent at first, and gave him time to see what turn his affair would take. When he knew that Clodius's Partizans behaved so as to make themselves odious, he thought it was time for him to re-appear at Rome. He returned the very instant the Hostilian palace was fired; appeared with his wanted confidence and haughtiness; and continued to sollicit for the Consulship; and, to recover the affection of the People, he presented every citizen with Three pounds, two shillings and sixpence.

His Competitors were alarmed at this; and thought it their interest to hasten the election, before he could have time to appease, and regain, the People. However, according to rule they were obliged to stay some days. For it was not customary for the first Interrex to proceed to the election of Consuls, and for that reason Lepidus refused to assemble the People. Scipio and Hypseus undertook to compel him. During the five days his office lasted, their troops constantly besieged his house; and made several attacks on it, in

* *Templum sanctitatis, amplitudinis, mentis, confilii publici; caput urbis; aram sociorum; portum omnium gentium; inflammari, exscindi, funestari! Cir. pro Mil,*

A. R. 700. one of which they forced the doors, and got into the
 Ant. C. apartments, where they committed all sorts of disorders,
 5^o and even demolished the bed of Cornelia, wife of the Interrex, a lady of great virtue. There would have probably been an end of Lepidus, if Milo's forces had not unexpectedly arrived. The adverse factions then turned against each other; and thus Lepidus's house escaped.

Varro,
apud Gel.
XVII. 18. Nevertheless the Tribunes, who from the first declared against Milo, continued to inflame the multitude by their furious invectives. To the two I have named we must add Sallust; whom strong reasons, though dishonourable to him, made Milo's personal enemy. Milo, having surprized him with his wife Fausta, had him severely whipped; and obliged him also to pay very dear for leave to retire. The thirst of revenge was therefore great in Sallust; and yet he was not the most implacable. He and Pompeius Rufus suffered themselves at last to be persuaded to hold their tongues. But Plancus Bursa pushed things to extremities with an obstinacy that nothing could overcome.

Afcon.

Milo, however, had one protector among the Tribunes. It was the Orator Cælius; a young man of wit and courage, as I have before had occasion to observe, whose talents would have made a figure in the Commonwealth, if he had joined to them a good conduct. In this affair, however, he got reputation. He warmly espoused the interest of his friend Milo; he accompanied him in public; and it was by his advice that Milo then gave to his affair the turn that Cicero followed in his pleadings. In reality the skirmish between Clodius's and Milo's people was, as I have related, accidental. But as Clodius was on horseback, without any impediment, escorted by slaves well-armed; and Milo on the contrary was in a coach, with his wife, attended by his domestics in his usual manner; Cælius and he laid hold of these circumstances, and imputed to Clodius an intention to assas-

assassinate Milo; whence it followed that Milo had killed him in his own defence.

A. R. 700.
Ant. C.
52.

Friendship alone actuated Cælius, but gratitude also animated the zeal of Cicero; who shewed on this occasion that his speculative notions of that amiable virtue were to him rules of action, by which he conceived himself strictly bound. Nothing was able to disunite him from Milo; and, in this faithful adherence to him, he faced great dangers with admirable courage. The Tribunes, who were Milo's enemies, declaimed with equal fury against Cicero; they pretended that he was the chief contriver of Clodius's murther, and that Milo had only lent him his hand; and at last they even threatened more than once to accuse him in form, and summon him to appear before the People. Part of the multitude were of the same opinion; and Cicero had reason to apprehend another popular storm, not inferior to that which had before overwhelmed him. But what was most capable of intimidating him, if on this occasion any thing could, was that he knew his extraordinary zeal for Milo was displeasing to Pompey.

Pompey had been lately reconciled to Clodius, and was, grown extremely cold to Milo; nay even then feared, or pretended to fear, him. He authorized reports equally false and injurious concerning Milo. He seemed to apprehend he should be assassinated by him; and, as if he thought himself in danger, kept a numerous guard about his person and house. Afterwards he filled Rome with armed persons; and those who by his order had raised them said publickly, that his intention in it was to be able to oppose the violent designs of Milo; whose enemies imputed to him nothing less than a scheme to fire the city, and renew the frenzy of Cataline. So that, although Pompey Cic. ad Fam. III. 10. by a laudable moderation continued Cicero's friend, and even protected him from the fury of the populace, our Orator could not doubt but that he paid his court to him very ill in defending Milo; and consequently, in the discharge of what he accounted his duty to his bene-

A. R. 700. benefactor, he had reason to fear the Tribunes, the
 Ant. C.
 52. People, and Pompey. On the contrary, he might
 with ease have regained them all, if he would have
 moderated the activity of his zeal: but he preferred
 Gratitude to every other consideration. He sollicited
 every one from whom he could expect any assistance
 to his friend; he spoke for him in the Senate as often
 as an opportunity offered; he took pains to refute the
 odious charges on him, though sometimes patronized
 by Pompey himself; in a word, there was no service
 in his power that he did not to the last persist to do
 Milo, with a constancy that seems to me to make this
 transaction one of the most glorious passages in his
 life.

The troubles continued in Rome near two months
 after Clodius's death before they could be remedied.
 Several Interreges succeeded one another, from five
 to five days according to custom. But those Ma-
 gistrates, whose authority was of so short duration,
 were not able to put a stop to the cabals, the battles
 between the Candidates, and the tumultuous quarrels
 on account of Milo's affair. The Tribunes added
 fuel to the fire, instead of extinguishing it: and
 Pompey, pursuing steadily his plan, gave himself no
 trouble about quelling a disorder which would at last
 oblige the Republick to throw itself into his arms.
 It was probably with that view that he rejected Milo's
 submission, who offered to desist, if he thought pro-
 per, from the pursuit of the Consulship. As soon as
 Milo had declined, Scipio and Hypseus would in-
 fallibly have been elected Consuls; and Pompey's
 secret designs were not to be so accomplished. He
 would not give up the flattering prospect; as the
 number of those who were for making him Dictator
 increased daily. Some indeed had a mind to make
 Dio.
 Cæs. de B. Cæsar Consul, who was then in Cisalpine Gaul, near
 G. VII. 1. enough to watch all that passed in Rome, and busied
 in raising forces, as it were to conform to the Senatus-
 consultum which had ordered levies throughout Italy.
 The Senate were as afraid of having Cæsar made Con-
 sul,

ful, as Pompey Dictator. They therefore agreed to A.R. 706.
yield to the necessity of the times : and, at the end of
Ant. C.
51.

the intercalary month, the principal Senators having
concerted matters together, Bibulus opened in the
Senate the scheme for making Pompey Consul alone.

“ For by this means, added he, either the Republick Plut. Pompei
“ will be enabled to extricate itself from the evils that & Cat.
“ oppress it ; or, if we must be enslaved, we shall
“ have the best Master we can hope for.” This
opinion appeared the more extraordinary, coming from
Bibulus, who had always shewed himself Pompey’s
enemy.

Cato increased the surprize. He rose ; and every
one expected he would oppose a proposal so contrary
to his maxims. He had lately manifested his steady
adherence to aristocratic and republican principles ;
for, some Senators desiring that Pompey might have
the care of the elections, he opposed the motion, say-
ing, “ that Pompey ought to be protected by the Laws,
not the Laws by Pompey.” But he now conformed
to circumstances, and said, “ that he could never
have prevailed on himself to make such a motion as
Bibulus had made : that, nevertheless, now another
had broke the ice, he should agree to it ; satisfied
that any form of government was preferable to anar-
chy, and persuaded that Pompey would make no ill
use of the exorbitant power that the necessity of af-
fairs obliged them to entrust him with.”

This was indeed the hope of all the zealous Con-
stitutionists, when they consented to this new regula-
tion. They thought Pompey, pleased to see the Se-
nate do that for him which they had never done for
any body, would be thereby heartily reconciled to
aristocracy, and break with Cæsar and the popular
party. They judged right. Pompey had already
entertained suspicions of Cæsar, and from this time
seriously espoused the cause of the Senate.

Bibulus’s proposal passed then without difficulty ;
and on the twenty-fifth of February, Ser. Sulpicius
being Interrex, Pompey was created Consul for the
third

A. R. 700. third time, without a Collegue; with power, however,
 Ant. C. 52. to give himself one, if he thought proper, so it
 was not within two months.

C. POMPEIUS MAGNUS III. Consul alone.

Pompey's ambition was satisfied by this extraordinary, unexampled, distinction of being made Consul without a Collegue; and put thus alone at the head of the Commonwealth. This supreme degree of grandeur pleased him so much the more, as he had attained it by means agreeable to him; not by force and the terror of arms, but by the voluntary deference of his countrymen.

He returned thanks with great politeness to Cato; and at the same time desired him to assist him with his advice. Cato answered, with a Stoic freedom, somewhat rudely: " You are not at all obliged to me; " for in what I said, and did, I intended to do service " to the Republick, not to you. As to my advice, " you shall have it with all my heart in private, when " you desire it; but, when you do not, you shall " have it in publick, in the Senate."

Plut. Pom. It was at this time that Pompey celebrated his marriage with Cornelia, daughter of Metellus Scipio, and widow of young Crassus, who lately perished in the Parthian war. Cornelia was still in her prime; and, besides the peculiar graces of her sex, had her mind well cultivated. She not only understood music, but was also a proficient in literature, geometry, philosophy; and to these acquirements she joined, what was yet more valuable, a virtuous, regular, conduct, free from arrogance and curiosity; vices, which learning, says Plutarch, is apt to instil into young ladies. This wedding, however, made Pompey be censured. Some exaggerated the disproportion of their ages; for really, in that respect, Cornelia was a properer match for his son than him. And those who laid a stress on decorum thought it indecent in Pompey, at a time when his distressed Country implored

plotted his protection, to crown himself with flowers, ^{A. R. 700.}
and gaily celebrate his nuptials; whereas he ought to
have considered as a misfortune his Consulship itself,
which he would not have had in so irregular a man-
ner, had not the Republick been plunged in misfor-
tune and afflictions. ^{Ant. C. 52.}

This reflection may seem too severe to many rea- ^{Ascon.}
ders; so much the more as Pompey neglected not the
object of his promotion. The third day after he took
possession of his office, he assembled the Senate, and
proposed to deliberate on the remedies necessary to
be applied to the publick disorders. His design was
to make new laws against corruption, and acts of
violence that had of late been frequent; and to erect
an extraordinary court, to enquire strictly into the
skirmish on the Appian high-way, wherein Clodius
was killed; into the burning of the Hostilian palace;
and the breaking open the house of M. Lepidus, the
first Interrex.

If we may believe Cicero, the inclination of the ^{Cic. pro}
Senate was not to have recourse to new laws, and the ^{Mil. n. 13.}
constituting extraordinary judicatures, at least with
respect to the acts of violence specified: but that,
resting on the laws already provided against such
crimes, the Prætor appointed to put them in execu-
tion should be ordered to put those causes that turned
on these late facts the first in the list, that they might
be determined before all others of the same sort. But
the Tribunes, who wanted to ruin Milo, prevented
the effect of the good-will the Senate shewed him.

Cælius, on the contrary, who protected him, un- ^{Ascon.}
dertook to oppose Pompey's law; saying, with rea-
son enough, that it was not a law but a kind of per-
sonal Proscription. Pompey, upon this, grew very
angry; and declared, that, if he was compelled to it,
he would employ the force of arms in defence of the
Republikk. Thus the law passed; the court was
established; and L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, a Con-
sular person, made President of it.

Pompey

POMPEIUS, Consul.

A.R. 708. Pompey met also with opposition to the law he
 Ant. C. made against corruption. He increased the punishment
^{52.}
 Appian. of that crime; and also ordered all those to be
 Civ. l. 2. accused who had been guilty of it from the time of
 Plut. Cat. his first Consulship, which was almost twenty years
^{708.} backwards. Now Cato thought it unjust that even
 criminals should be punished by a law *ex post facto*.
 The friends of Cæsar represented too that his Consulship
 was included in that space; and that it looked
 like a design to give him trouble. Pompey answered
 these, that they injured Cæsar by their suspicions,
 whose conduct, being out of the reach of censure,
 secured him consequently from any danger.

He gave no attention neither to Cato's remonstrance, and maintained that he could not heal the disorders of the State, if he did not make examples of severity with regard to what was past. So he proposed, and passed, his law against corruption, according to the original plan. But it does not appear that for the execution of this law he issued any extraordinary commission.

Plut. Pem. & Cat. Ascon. He reformed also in many things, and abridged, judicial proceedings. He reduced the great number of Council employed in the same cause, who served only to confound the Judges. He forbade the use of those panegyrics which the accuser often obtained from the most powerful persons in the State. He allowed but three days to examine witnesses: after which the accuser and accused were obliged to plead the same day, confining themselves within the compass, one of two hours, the other of three: then the judgment

Auct de Caus. Cor. Eloq. n.
 38. was immediately to follow. An author has complained that this regulation was a great check on eloquence; but it favoured expedition, a thing of more importance in the administration of justice. Lastly, Pompey was very careful in the choice of the Judges; and in particular the Tribunal that sat on Milo was composed of the best and most reputable citizens in Rome.

As soon as every thing was regulated, two nephews A. R. 700.
of P. Clodius, sons of one of his brothers, accused Ant. C.
Milo before Domitius, by virtue of Pompey's new
law, wherein Clodius's death was expressly mentioned.
52^o
At the same time three other actions, which turned
upon the same fact or corruption, were also brought
against Milo at other tribunals. For, when a man is
under misfortunes, every one falls on him. The affair
before Domitius, as the most important, and that
whose event would probably decide the others, was
first heard. Milo appeared on the fourth of April ;
bold and haughty as usual. He would not put on
mourning, as customary for all accused ; he disdained
to stoop to prayers and intreaties ; he pretended he
had done nothing he was ashamed of, and consequently
that he ought only to shew contempt for the accusa-
tions of his enemies.

The danger was however great, had he even had
none to fear but the mob attached to Clodius's me-
mory. The first day the witnesses were examined,
while M. Marcellus (that Marcellus for whom Cicero
returned thanks to Cæsar, by the well-known discourse
that bears his name) a person respectable on account
of his birth, virtue, and eloquence, and who then as-
sisted Cicero in defending Milo ; while this worthy
Senator was interrogating C. Cassinius Sehola, a friend
and companion of Clodius, that vile mob set up so
hideous a noise that Marcellus thought his life in dan-
ger, and retired to the President. Pompey himself,
who was sitting near, was disturbed at it ; and, at the
request of Domitius and Marcellus, who did not think
themselves safe, he brought, the two following days,
troops with him, and posted them all about the place ;
by means of which precaution the witnesses were ex-
amined, and heard, peaceably. Fulvia came the
next, and by her tears greatly affected the whole as-
sembly.

All the interrogatories being finished the third day,
the Tribune Plancus Bursa that very evening assem-
bled the People, and exhorted them to come the next
VOL. VIII. D d day

A. R. 700. day in great numbers to the judgment, and "not
 Ant. C. 50. suffer Milo to escape;" these were his words. His
 advice was punctually followed. The eleventh of April, the day that was to close this grand affair, all the shops in the city were shut; and the crowd was so great, that the very windows and tops of the houses in the place were filled with spectators. Pompey assisted at the hearing, still attended by the military; some of whom he stationed round his person, and the rest in all the posts of consequence.

Cic. de Or. I. 122. The accusers spoke two hours, according to Pompey's new regulation. Cicero alone was to answer them; but he did not speak with his usual eloquence. He was timid, as all the world knows, and describes himself under the name of L. Crassus, when he makes that Orator say, that often, when he began to speak, *Plut. Cic.* he turned pale, and trembled all over. Milo, who knew the foible of his Advocate, advised him to come in a close chair, that he might not see the soldiers and furious mob. But when Cicero got out of his chair, and perceived Pompey seated on high, surrounded with guards; and the whole place full of soldiers; he began to be disordered: and was entirely disconcerted by the furious outcries of Clodius's Partizans, when *Dio. Asc.* he was going to plead. He lost then irrecoverably his presence of mind; and spoke very ill. For that oration we have of his for Milo, which is a masterpiece, is not the same he really delivered, but a discourse composed afterwards in his closet.

I have already mentioned on what foot Cicero defended Milo. He pretended there had been no accidental encounter, much less an ambush laid by Milo but that, on the contrary, Clodius had premeditated the assassination of the man he equally hated and feared, but had happily met the due punishment of his injustice and violence. Some were for giving another turn to the affair; and for his maintaining, that Clodius having been a bad member of the Commonwealth, his death was a benefit to it. But as private person may not kill, of his own authority

even one who deserves death ; to lay the whole stress A. R. 700.
on that, was to own Milo guilty : and Brutus, who,
according to Asconius, had made, by way of exer-
cise, a plea for Milo, in which he used no other me-
thod of defence, seems rather to have followed, in
that, the bold maxims of Stoicism, than those of a
regular jurisprudence.

Ant. C.
52.

However, that method used auxiliarly might have been serviceable to the cause. For some of the Judges, and Cato among others, thought it was less their busi-
ness to examine scrupulously into the truth of the
fact, than to enquire into the good resulting to the
State from its deliverance from Clodius. Cicero
would not altogether deprive himself of this advan-
tage ; for, after endeavouring in the first part of his
oration to clear Milo's innocence, as having killed
Clodius in his own defence ; he adds a second, wherein
he exerts the whole force of his eloquence in inveigh-
ing against Clodius ; and in proving, that if Milo
was to own (what was not the fact) that he had killed
Clodius premeditatedly ; he ought to expect, for such
a service done the Commonwealth, rather a reward,
than banishment. This is the general plan of Cicero's
defence of Milo ; and it is composed with all the ad-
dress necessary in so delicate an affair.

But, besides the difficulties arising out of the cause
itself, Cicero had a terrible one to encounter in the
unfavourable disposition of Pompey, with regard to
the accused. Pompey, then Consul alone, armed
with the whole publick authority, shewed plainly, by
every step, that he thought he should do a second
service to the Commonwealth in getting rid of Milo,
who had delivered it from Clodius. There was great
reason to apprehend that such an influence would make
a deep impression on the Judges ; and this indeed was
the principal cause of Milo's condemnation.

Vell. II.

47.

Cicero endeavours by every art to prevent this fatal
effect, and to eradicate the notion that Pompey was
averse to Milo. He lays hold of every thing suscep-
tible of a favourable interpretation ; he flatters over all
D d 2 that

A.R. 700. that has a disadvantageous appearance. He combats
 Ant. C.
 52. the suspicione Pompey had entertained with regard
 to his personal safety; but he does it with so much
 discretion, in such terms of friendship and respect,
 even that which is so displeasing is so intermixed with
 panegyric, that, at the same time the Advocate does
 justice to his Client, he gives Pompey no room to be
 offended. At last he intimates to him his own in-
 terest; and he does it in a manner the more remark-
 able, as we therein find a plain prophecy of the rup-
 ture between Pompey and Cæsar, at a time when
 they seemed on very good terms.

“ If Milo, says Cicero to Pompey, could not era-
 “ dicate the suspicione and alarms you seem to in-
 “ cline to about him, he would not refuse to quit his
 “ country voluntarily. But he would first make, as
 “ he now does by my mouth, this important obser-
 “ vation. * See, says he, by what befalls me, to
 “ what various events human life is subject; how
 “ uncertain and unstable fortune is; what ingratia-
 “ tude we experience from friends; under what dif-
 “ ferent masks double-dealing conceals itself; how
 “ forsaken men are in times of danger; how every
 “ thing trembles round him whom the lightning strikes.
 “ It will come, the time will come, sooner or later we
 “ shall see the day, when your fortune, superior I
 “ hope to the shock, yet endangered somewhat per-
 “ haps by publick commotions, to which of late ex-
 “ perience has but too well accustomed us; when, I
 “ say, your fortune and situation may make you re-
 “ gret the kindness of a friend, the fidelity of a man
 “ of honour, and the valour of the most courageous
 “ of mortals.” This reflection merited Pompey’s

* Vide quam sit varia vitæ commutabilisque ratio; quam vaga volu-
 bilisque fortuna; quantæ infidelitatis in amicis; quum ad tempus
 aptæ simulationes; quantæ in periculis fugæ proximorum; quantæ
 timiditates. Erit, erit illud profecto tempus, & illucescat aliquando ille
 dies, quum tu, salutaribus ut spero rebus tuis, sed fortasse motu aliquo
 communium temporum immutatis, qui quam crebro accidat exper-
 debemus scire, & amicissimi benevolentiam, & gravissimam hominis fidem
 & unius post hominis natos fortissimi viri-magnitudinem animi deside-
 res. Cic. pro Mil. 69.

attention; but he had long shut his ears to salutary counsels.

Another obstacle Cicero had to combat came from Milo himself, whose confidence and haughtiness were enough to prejudice many of his Judges against him, as thinking themselves in a manner bullied by a man whose fate was in their hands. Cicero takes therefore upon himself the suppliant that Milo disdained. He employs all that is affecting and submissive, with an excess of grief the more capable of softening the Judges, as they were, as I have mentioned, all of them men of worth, and consequently Cicero's friends; for whom they had signalized their zeal in his recall from exile. * "If I lose Milo, says he to them, I shall not even have the consolation of resentment against those who have so cruelly afflicted me. For my quarrel will not be with my enemies, but with my best friends; not with those who have occasionally injured me, but those who have at all times deserved every thing of me. No, Gentlemen, no affliction you can lay on me, and this I now deprecate is the strongest can possibly befall me; yet even this, all-piercing as it is, will not make me forget what I owe you, and what you have done for me. If you yourselves have forgot it; if any thing in me has displeased you; let your resentment fall on my head, rather than on Milo's. For I shall have happily finished my course, if I live not to see the misfortune that now threatens me."

Cicero even finds means to make Milo say the most affecting things, at the same time that he maintains all the dignity of his character. These opposites, so

* Nec vero, si mihi eriperis, reliqua est illa saltem ad consolandum querela, ut his irasci possim a quibus tantum vulnus accepero. Non enim inimici mei te mihi eripient, sed amicissimi; non male aliquando de me meriti, sed semper optime. Nullum unquam, judices, mihi tantum dolorem inuretis, et si quis potest esse tantus? sed ne hunc quidem ipsum, ut oblivious quanti me semper feceritis. Quæ si vos eripit oblivio, aut si aliquid in me offendistis, cur non id meo capite, potius luitur, quam Milonis? Praclare enim vixero, si quid mihi acciderit prius quam tantum mali video. Cic. pro Mil. 99.

A. R. 700. difficultly reconciled, are blended with wonderous art,
 Ant. C. and produce both pity and respect. But I fear I shall
 52. seem to have forgot that I am writing an history, not
 making an abstract of a most eloquent oration. I
 proceed then to the event of the cause, which was
 fatal to Milo. Eighty-one Judges heard it: before
 they collected the votes, the accuser and accused
 Ascon. & challenged each fifteen; so that their number was re-
 Vell. duced to fifty-one. Out of these Milo had but thir-
 teen favourable voices: but he had one that did him
 great honour, and which alone might be almost con-
 sidered as equivalent to all the others together. If I
 might use here a celebrated thought which Lucan *
 has misapplied, I would say, that the party who got
 their cause had thirty-eight voices for them; but that
 he who lost it had the suffrage of Cato.

Ascon. Milo's misfortune was complete. This first con-
 demnation was followed in a few days by three more
 at other tribunals, before whom he did not appear.
 His effects were sold; yet, rich as they were, proved
 insufficient to pay his debts; which amounted to †
 Plin. 36. seventy millions of sesterces; a prodigious sum, yet
 35. less by near a third than Cæsar owed after his Prætor-
 ship.

Dio. Milo retired to Marseille; and maintained, out-
 wardly at least, the haughtiness he had shewn in his
 prosperity. For when Cicero sent him his oration, as
 he had wrote it after his trial; "I am glad," said he
 in his answer, "that you did not speak thus: if you
 had, I should not eat such excellent fish as I now
 do at Marseille." He made however afterwards,
 as we shall see, some efforts towards the re-establish-

* Every one knows this verse of Lucan,

Vixtrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni:

"The victorious faction was approved of by the Gods, but the vanquished party by Cato :" and it was but justly observed, that this thought is impious, if Lucan's Gods mean any thing; and frivolous, if they mean nothing.

† Five hundred and forty-six thousand eight hundred and seventy-five pounds sterling.

ment of his affairs ; but perished in the attempt ; A.R. 700.
having had the singular misfortune, to be equally Ant. C.
odious to Pompey and Cæsar. 52.

What evinces that Pompey's enmity did him more ^{A. Con.} harm than any thing else, is, that Saufeius, who had a worse cause to defend than him, escaped condemnation. This Saufeius had headed Milo's gladiators in forcing the inn whither Clodius was carried after he had been wounded. Notwithstanding, when he was accused both at the same tribunal which condemned Milo, and afterwards at the ordinary tribunal that took cognizance of acts of violence, he was acquitted. On the other side, Sex. Clodius was condemned to banishment for firing the Hostilian palace ; and many others of the same party shared the same fate. The most remarkable among them were the ^{Dio.} Tribunes Q. Pompeius and T. Plancus Bursa ; who, as soon as out of office, were prosecuted, and suffered the punishment their seditious conduct deserved.

The person who accused Q. Pompeius was Cælius, ^{Val. Max.} who had been his Colleague ; a man of a disorderly ^{4. 2. 7.} behaviour, as I have more than once observed, but capable of generosity ; and who, far from insulting an unhappy enemy, contributed to alleviate his misfortune. For Pompeius's mother, taking an unfair advantage of his banishment, detained part of his fortune : whereupon Pompeius implored the assistance of his accuser ; and Cælius served him with such fidelity and vigour, that he compelled the rapacious mother to refund and do her son justice.

As to Plancus Bursa, Pompey essayed every method to save him. He went so far as even to debase himself in favour of that wretch. I have said that he had abolished, by an express Law, the practice of procuring recommendations of the accused from persons that had an influence on the Judges ; yet he was not ashamed to send himself one of these to Plancus's Judges. While it was reading, Cato, who was one of them, stopped his ears ; and was therefore objected to by Plancus. But it was a bad sign in any one accused,

A. R. 700. accused to refuse Cato for his Judge. Plancus was
 Ant. C. condemned, to the great satisfaction of Cicero, who
 52. exults thereupon in one of his letters, and thinks that
 Cic. ad Fam. VII. 2. the Judges had a mind to revenge his quarrel on a
 low fellow, who seemed to make it his business to
 brave him.

Plut.
Pomp.
Dio.
Appian.

Plancus's affair is not the only one, nor indeed the first, in which Pompey merited the appellation given him by Tacitus *, of Violator of his own Laws. He had made a new Law against corruption, more severe than all the former ones. By virtue of that Law Metellus Scipio, his father-in-law, was accused ; and was manifestly guilty. Pompey made interest for him with such earnestness, as even to put on mourning ; which occasioned some of his Judges to do the same ; a step contrary to all decency and custom. Upon this the accuser desisted ; but not without inveighing against the partiality of the Consul and Judges.

Such a conduct necessarily causes an unequal procedure, according to the difference of persons : for the course of justice cannot be always impeded. Pompey accordingly fell also into this inconvenience, so unbecoming a supreme Magistrate. Hypseus, who had been his Quæstor, and was in the same circumstances as Metellus Scipio, had recourse to him for protection, and threw himself at his feet, as he was sitting down to supper ; but Pompey repulsed him rudely, telling him, that he only spoiled his supper.

He was not more favourable to Scaurus, who was accused of bribery and corruption in his pursuit of the Consulship the preceding year, though he failed of success. The People interested themselves for him, so far as to disturb the hearing by their clamours. Pompey suppressed this tumult, not only by a severe ordinance, but also by force ; ordering the soldiers about him to silence and disperse the multitude. Some of the People being killed, served for example

* Cn. Pompeius tertium Consul — suarum legum actor idem ac subverior. Tac. Ann. III. 28.

to the rest: the cause was heard quietly; and Scaurus condemned. All these affairs took up a considerable time. In the month of August, Pompey took for Collegue his father in-law Metellus Scipio,

A. R. 700.
Ant. C.
52.

Cn. POMPEIUS MAGNUS III.

Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS SCIPIO.

Notwithstanding the irregularity, and inconsistence, Cæf. de B. G. VII. 6, of Pompey's conduct; it must be confessed, to his glory, that he re-established order in Rome: that he made the Laws, which were no longer minded there, again respected: and expelled thence confusion and anarchy. It is also from this æra we ought to date his sincere and hearty attachment to the Senate, to whose interest he ever after strictly adhered. It is for this reason that Cicero extols often with great energy Pompey's third Consulship, even so far as to call it divine. It were to be wished that to these Cic. ad At. VII. 1. truly laudable actions he had added some precaution against Cæsar. But he committed, with respect to that formidable rival, another fault, which filled up the measure of the rest, and gave Cæsar a plausible pretext for turning his arms against his native country.

We have seen that there were those who had thoughts of making Cæsar Consul this year. But that was not his plan. He intended to compleat the conquest of Gaul, which was far from being subdued yet: and, knowing that he had four years still to continue at the head of the army, would not give up such an advantage, and so fine an opportunity of strengthening his interest before he returned to Rome. He chose therefore that his friends, instead of making him actually Consul, should obtain leave for him to sollicit, at a proper time, for the Consulship by proxy. His design herein is clear enough. If, according to Law, Cæsar had been obliged to sollicit for the Consulship in person; he must have left his Government, and appeared in the Campus Martius: on the contrary, Suet. Cæf. 26, §8. Plut. Dio. Appian.

POMPEIUS, CÆCILIUS, Consuls.

A. R. 700. trary, by means of this dispensation, he might obtain
Ant. C. the Consulship while he remained in Gaul, at the head
5th of his troops; and go immediately from his Command
to a second Consulship, or rather join them both together, that the authority of Consul, backed by ten legions that continued under his Command, might enable him to execute the vastest projects that boundless ambition could suggest.

Pompey was aware of this; and endeavoured to parry the blow. He carried a law, which renewed the prohibition of electing absent persons for Magistrates. Cæsar's friends made upon this a great stir; and, though the Law was already engraved on brass, and deposited among the public archives, Pompey was weak enough to alter it, by adding this proviso, "unless any one has been excused by name from asking in person."

The business now was to obtain this Dispensation; and the Tribunes, gained by Cæsar, were preparing to propose it to the People. The affair being first debated in Senate, Cato warmly opposed such a dangerous step; and Pompey shewed on this occasion what he thought of it. For after he had faintly defended Cæsar's cause, and represented that so great a man well deserved to have the rigour of Law relaxed in his favour; upon Cato's returning to the charge with fresh vehemence, Pompey held his tongue; and seemed to yield to the force of the arguments brought against it.

Cic. Phil. Cicero was of the same opinion; and though the
Q. 24. terms he then kept with Cæsar did not permit him to explain in public; in private however he encouraged Pompey to hold out. But constancy ought not to be expected from the ambitious. Pompey not only gave way himself, but even engaged Cicero to obtain from his friend Cælius, then Tribune, that he would not oppose the proposal of his Colleagues, but concur with them in obliging Cæsar. Thus the ten Tribunes with one accord proposed the Dispensation; and it passed without difficulty.

A. R. 700.
Ant. C.
52.

137,488.1

I can see but one motive that could determine Pompey to this condescension, in which he consented in a manner to his own ruin and death. The five years of his Command in Spain expired a year before the ten that Cæsar was to govern Gaul. For this reason it was of the utmost concern to him to get continued in the Government of Spain, lest he should find himself disarmed at a time when his antagonist would be yet in arms. This was a point he was endeavouring to carry. He wanted an addition of five years to his Command, with an appointment of twenty-four millions of sesterces a year out of the public treasure. He was apprehensive doubtless of an opposition from Cæsar and his party. And truly Cæsar would have had a fine opening, had he attacked Pompey on this head, who had just ratified by a Law a Senatusconsultum of the last year, by which the Consuls and Praetors were incapacitated from being appointed Governors of Provinces, till five years had elapsed from the expiration of their offices. Pompey therefore openly violated a Law he had lately made: and it is easy to imagine what such an advantage would have been worth to Cæsar. This it was, in my opinion, (for I find this observation no where) that obliged Pompey to consent to his rival's desire, in order to obtain what he himself wanted. They mutually conceded to each other the means of defence; they made a sort of exchange, of which the abler made an advantage.

Metellus Scipio had a mind to share with his Col- Dio. legue the glory of reforming the State, by re-establishing the Censorship in all its rights. I have related how this Magistracy had been in a manner suppressed by a law of Clodius, which took from the Censors the power of stigmatizing any citizen, unless accused in form, and convicted of some scandalous action, before them. The Consul Metellus restored to them the free exercise of an arbitrary jurisdiction, such as they had enjoyed from all antiquity. But this re-establishment served less to extirpate disorders, than to shame

A. R. 700. shame the Censors. For, had Clodius's law continued in force, their hands being tied, they consequently would not have been responsible for the impunity of vice ; whereas now their full power was restored, their inactivity was inexcusable, and yet severity seemed impracticable, on account of the number and power of the vicious. Prudent people therefore no longer stood for the Censorship ; and we shall see it fall into the hands of such as were fitter to be objects of its power, than its ministers.

Val. Max. Metellus himself, its restorer, gave great openings *IX. i.* to it in his own conduct. He was, while Consul, at an infamous entertainment ; which I would not even mention, were it not to shew to what excess luxury can carry corruption. This entertainment was made for the Consul, and some of the Tribunes, by a wretched tipstaff ; who brought to it two women of illustrious birth, and a young man of condition, to gratify the brutal lust of his guests. The bare relation of such an extinction of all modesty, and respect for the laws of nature itself, is shocking ; but vice knows no bounds ; and the only way not to be drawn into its last excesses, is to resist its first approaches.

Plut. Cat. The assemblies for the election of Consuls for the *Dio.* ensuing year gave room to some debates ; but they were of a very different kind from those that had thrown the whole city into confusion the two preceding years. All was conducted now with tranquillity ; owing partly to Pompey's laws, and partly to the prudence and moderation of the Candidates. These were Cato ; Ser. Sulpicius the famous Lawyer, who had missed of the Consulship some years before in concurrence with Murena ; and M. Marcellus, whom we have already spoken of in Milo's affair.

Nothing could be juster, or greater, than Cato's intention. He found all power was shared between Pompey and Cæsar, who by uniting would annihilate the Republic, or by dividing rend it. Cato proposed, if he obtained the Consulship, to rescue the public authority

thority out of the hands of two private men, and to restore it to the Senate and People, to whom it belonged. A.R. 700.
Ant. C.
52. Sulpicius's views were not so elevated; he was a quiet man who espoused no party warmly. Marcellus hated Cæsar. So that, whatever was the choice of the People among these Candidates, Cæsar was sure of having one at least of the two Consuls against him; but the two last suited best the interest of Pompey.

This was a great matter towards their succeeding; and Cato assisted them, by setting the People against him, by an ill-timed severity. For he obtained from the Senate a decree, which ordered the Candidates to make interest for themselves, and not by their friends. The People were much angered, that, after having contributed more than any one to deprive them of the money they used to have for their votes, he should also bereave them of the satisfaction of being courted and caressed; so that he took from them in a manner both honour and profit. Besides, he solicited with state, and not in the submissive, insinuating, manner usual with other Candidates. “He chose,” says Plutarch, “to preserve the dignity of his character, rather than to acquire the dignity of Consul.” It is not surprising that these reasons for his exclusion prevailed over his merit. Sulpicius and Marcellus were elected.

Cato, thus rejected, shewed a resolution worthy of the moderation with which he had solicited the office. For when some found fault with Sulpicius, who had obligations to him, for opposing him: “It is no wonder,” replied he, “that a man should not tamely yield to another what is accounted the greatest good.” After this event he preserved the same equality of temper. Commonly the day, on which a Candidate lost an election, was a day of mourning for him, his relations, and friends. Often grief and shame made

* Εγ γέτε το τε Σειρ μαλλον αξιωμα Σελομενος φυλασσον, η προσδεσιν το της επιχειρει.

them

POMPEIUS, CÆCILIUS, Consuls.

A. R. 700. them even abscond for a long time. Cato made no
 Ant. C. alteration in his usual procedure. He was seen that
 52. very day playing at tennis in the Campus Martius; and afterwards walking there with his friends, with as much serenity as if nothing disagreeable had happened.

However, he resolved never more to apply for the Consulship. He said, that an honest man, and good citizen, should not decline the administration of public affairs, when thought fit to be employed; but that he ought not to court it immoderately. Cicero, whose maxims were not near so severe, blamed him for not having done all in his power to attain the Consulship, at a time when the Republic much wanted his service: and even thought his conduct inconsistent, because, though he had been once refused the Praetorship too, he nevertheless made a second application. But Cato replied, that there was an essential difference: that, when he missed the Praetorship, it was against the consent of the People, part of whom were corrupted, and part awed by force; but that here every thing had been regular, and consequently he could not doubt but his character and manner of acting was displeasing to the People. "Now," added he, "I certainly shall not alter my conduct; and therefore shall not act like a man of sense in seeking wantonly a second refusal, while I continue the same behaviour that occasioned the first."

Scarce any thing material happened at Rome in the Consulship of Sulpicius and Marcellus, and the following year, but the preparatives to the civil war, and the preliminaries to the rupture between Cæsar and Pompey. I shall therefore defer the relation of these intrigues and domestic quarrels, until I have given an account of Cæsar's last exploits in Gaul, and of Cicero's Proconsulship in Cilicia, which was preceded, and accompanied, by some motions of the Parthians in the East.

S E C T. II.

The Gauls prepare for a general revolt. The Carnutes give the signal, by massacring the Roman citizens in Genabum. Gaulish method of conveying news speedily. Vercingetorix causes the Arverni to rebel. The revolt breaks out over almost all Gaul. Cæsar returns to Gaul, and is much embarrassed how to rejoin his legions. He crosses the Cebenna in the midst of winter. He gets to his legions. Cæsar's march from the country of the Senones to that of the Bituriges. Genabum surprized and burnt. Vercingetorix, in order to starve Cæsar's army, lays waste the country of the Bituriges; and fires their towns. Avaricum is spared. Cæsar besieges it. The Romans suffer greatly. Cæsar proposes to his soldiers to raise the siege. They request him to continue it. Cæsar's care of his troops. Vercingetorix, suspected by the Gauls, justifies himself. Vigorous and skilful defence of the besieged. Structure of the Gaulish walls. Last effort of the besieged. Remarkable instance of the intrepidity of the Gauls. They endeavour in vain to abandon the town, which is stormed. Address of Vercingetorix in comforting his people. He persuades the Gauls to fortify their camp, which they had never yet done. Cæsar sends Labienus with four legions against the Senones. He passes the Allier with the six others, and besieges Gergovia. Vercingetorix follows him, and encamps on the neighbouring heights. The Ædui break their alliance with the Romans. Cæsar has thoughts of raising the siege of Gergovia. Combat, in which the imprudent heat of his troops occasions a considerable loss. Cæsar blames his soldiers rashness. He raises the siege. The revolt of the Ædui breaks out. Cæsar fords over the Loire, and goes to join Labienus. Labienus, after an attempt on Lutetia, returns to Agadicum; and from thence to Cæsar's camp. Vercingetorix is confirmed Generalissimo of the league. His plan of war. Cæsar procures from Germany horse, and light-armed foot.

POMPEIUS, CÆCILIUS, Consuls.

foot. Vercingetorix's cavalry engages that of Cæsar. Singular circumstances of that fight with respect to Cæsar. Vercingetorix, being worsted, retires under the walls of Alesia. Siege of Alesia, a great and memorable event. Cæsar's works. An army assembles from all parts of Gaul to relieve that city. Famine in Alesia. One of the Chiefs proposes to eat human flesh. Arrival of the Gaulish army. Three successive battles, in all which Cæsar has the advantage. The Gaulish army is dispersed. The besieged surrender. Vercingetorix made prisoner. Cæsar passes the winter in Gaul. Cæsar's commentaries continued by a friend. New plan of the Gauls for continuing the war. Cæsar during the winter subdues the Bituriges; and disperses the Carnutes. War of the Bellovaci; conducted by them with equal skill and courage. They are vanquished, and submit. Comius, determined never to trust a Roman, retires into Germany. Reason of his distrust. Cæsar's endeavours to pacify Gaul, by adding mildness and clemency to the force of arms. Exploits of Caninius and Fabius between the Loire and the Garonne. Siege of Uxellodunum. Cæsar goes to it in person, and compels the besieged to surrender at discretion. Comius, by an extraordinary artifice, deceives Volusenus, who pursued him. He wounds Volusenus in an engagement, and afterwards makes his peace. Gaul entirely pacified. Cæsar employs the whole ninth year of his command in quieting the Gauls, and gaining them by mildness.

A. R. 700.
Ant. C.
52.

CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS III.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS SCIPIO.

Cæs. de
B. G. l. 7. **W**HILE Cæsar was beyond the Alpes on the side of Italy; and all his ten legions had their winter-quarters in the northern and eastern parts of Gaul, in the Senonois, the Langrois, and the country of Treves; the Gauls plot a general revolt; and make a more vigorous effort than they had ever yet done to shake off the yoke of their unjust oppressors. The execution of Acco, Chief of the Senones, had irri-

A. R. 700.
Ant. C.
52.

irritated, and alarmed them all; each thinking himself liable to the same treatment. Besides, the troubles in Rome, occasioned by Clodius's death, seemed to the Gauls, who heard of them, to present a favourable opportunity; because they thought these intestine seditions would detain Cæsar long in Italy. The situation too of the Roman legions, all stationed at one of the extremities of Gaul, gave them hopes to be able, if the intermediate country revolted, to cut off all communication between Cæsar and his legions; and hinder the General from joining his army.

The Carnutes declared the first. It had been thus agreed, and the time fixed, in an Assembly of the Chiefs of almost all the Gaulish nations; in which the Deputies of the Carnutes undertook to give the signal of the revolt, provided they might depend on being seconded by the other nations. And as the confederates durst not exchange hostages, for fear of discovering their league; they bound themselves by the most solemn and sacred oath in use among the Gauls; which was, consonant to the taste of that warlike nation, took on the military ensigns collected together.

On the appointed days the Carnutes rise; and coming armed from all sides to Genabum, one of their principal cities, massacre the Roman citizens who had settled there on account of trade, and among the rest a Roman Knight of eminence, whom Cæsar had appointed to supply his army with provisions.

The news of this massacre spread quickly all over Gaul. The Gaulish method of expediting an expected piece of news was, to station men from place to place, who informed one another thereof by their successive outcries. In this manner, what had happened at Genabum at sun-rising was known on the frontiers of the Arverni, a distance of one hundred and sixty miles, before the end of the first watch of the night.

Vercingetorix waited only for this signal to head the revolt of the Arverni. He was a young Noble-

POMPEIUS, CÆCILIUS, Consuls.

A.R. 700. man of great power and interest, whose father Cætilius had presided over all Celtic Gaul; but, endeavouring to make himself its sovereign, had been killed by his countrymen. The son, who, probably, was no less ambitious, was no sooner informed of the rising of the Carnutes, but he immediately took up arms in Auvergne, and seized on Gergovia*, spite of his uncle, who dreaded the consequences of so rash a step. He is upon this proclaimed King by his followers; and soon after acknowledged Generalissimo of the league which then revealed itself; to which the Senones, the Parisii, those of Poitou, Querci, Touraine, the Aulerci †, the Lemovices, those of Anjou, and all the provinces of Celtic Gaul near the ocean, acceded.

Vercingetorix was very diligent in setting on foot a numerous army; demanding for that purpose, of every nation, a certain proportion of men, arms, and horses, and he exacted obedience with great rigour, or rather cruelty, since those who committed great faults were, after having been tortured, burnt alive; and for small offences he either cut off the ears, or put out an eye, and returned the mutilated home as an example to others. By the terror of such punishments he soon formed a large army; with which he undertook to bring over to the league those nations who were yet undetermined. He trusted part of his troops to Luterius of Querci, and sent him into Rouergne, and the territories of the Nitiobriges ‡ and Gabali §; to compel these nations to take up arms. Luterius, if he found an opportunity, was also to invade the Roman province. As for Vercingetorix himself, he marched to Berri at the head of the grand army, and made its inhabitants join him.

* A city of Auvergne, whose ruins are visible two leagues south-east of Clermont. The mountain is still called Gergoie.

† They inhabited the Maine and the country of Evreux.

‡ The Agenois.

§ The Gevaudan.

A. R. 700.
Ant. C.
52.

These motions required Cæsar's presence. He had hitherto remained in Cisalpine Gaul; waiting probably the event of the troubles in Rome, and hoping to reap some advantage from them. When he found that Pompey's wisdom and fortitude, as he says himself, had quieted the city; and consequently, that he was to expect nothing from that quarter; he made haste to repass the Alpes, that he might suppress the insurrection in Gaul. When this was done, he was not a little embarrassed how to get to his army. If he ordered his forces to come to him to the Roman province, he exposed them to be attacked on their march in his absence: if he went to them, he hazarded greatly his person by going through countries on whose fidelity he could not depend.

He ran, however, where the danger was most pressing: and first to Narbonne, threw strong garrisons into that, and the neighbouring cities; and put the whole country into a condition of defence against the invasion with which Luterius threatened it. He then prepared to enter the country of the Arverni; and for that purpose assembled at the foot of the mountain Cebenna part of the provincial forces, and the new Italian levies. It was in the midst of winter, and the snow was six feet deep on the mountain; which was to be cleared before he could move. Cæsar's soldiers, animated by their General, overcame all difficulties; and the Arverni, who thought themselves sufficiently defended by the Cebenna, as by an impenetrable barrier, were strangely surprized to see an army coming to them by ways reckoned impassable at that season even to single men. The Romans ravaged all the open country; and obliged Vercingetorix to leave Berri, and come to the assistance of the Arverni.

Cæsar foresaw this; and his scheme was to amuse the enemy on that side, while he stole off to his legions. Having therefore staid but two days in Auvergne, he set out, leaving the troops he had brought with him, under the command of D. Brutus. His

A.R. 700. pretence was to go and fetch a reinforcement; and
 Ant. C. he promised to be absent but three days, deceiving
 52. the Romans themselves, the better to impose on the Gauls. He went then to Vienne, where he found a body of horse, who had waited there according to his orders several days. With this fresh corps, marching day and night, he crossed the country of the *Ædui*, whom he began to distrust; and, preventing by his expedition the obstacles and ambuscades he had reason to apprehend from them, arrived happily in the Langrois, where two of his legions wintered; and presently got the others about him, before the Arverni had the least intimation of it.

Winter was not yet over; and, had Vercingetorix continued quiet, Cæsar, it seems, would have waited for the fine weather. But the Gaulish General sat down before a city of the Boii, whom Cæsar in his first campaign had fettled among the *Ædui*. This town named *Gergovia* (and which should not be confounded with the city of the same name in the country of the Arverni) must have been situated * in that part of the Bourbonnois which is between the Loire and the Allier. This enterprize of Vercingetorix reduced Cæsar to the hard alternative, of either abandoning his allies, or of risking the want of provisions and forage, by taking the field at a time when there was nothing on the ground. But before all things Cæsar judged it expedient to protect those who confided in him, and to avoid giving room to new defections by neglecting his allies in their distreſs. He wrote therefore to the *Ædui*, desiring them to supply the besieged with provisions; and to the Boii themselves, to encourage them to hold out till he could come and succour them in person. At the same time he set out, leaving at Agendicum two legions with the baggage of the whole army.

Sect.

* I speak after Mr. d'Amville, whose superior light in Geography I am proud to follow.

He did not, however, take the shortest route, relying doubtless on the ignorance of the Gauls in the attack of towns. He had much at heart to revenge the Roman Citizens assassinated by the Carnutes in Genabum. He marched then to that city; took in his way Vallunodunum, an important post, which stopped him but three days; and from thence came in two days to Genabum: and, as that town had then a bridge over the Loire, and he had reason to believe the inhabitants would endeavour to get off by means thereof in the night, in order to prevent it he posted two legions in ambush on that side. And in fact at midnight the inhabitants of Genabum fled in crowds over the bridge; but they almost all fell into the snare; the city was plundered, and then burnt.

A. R. 700.
Ant. C.
52.

Beaune in
Gatinois.

After taking Genabum, Cæsar continued his march; entered into Berri; and being come to Noviodunum, now Nouan, four or five leagues south-east of Bourges, as his custom was to leave nothing behind that might incommodate him, attacked that city. It had just capitulated when the scouts of Vercingetorix's army appeared; for on Cæsar's approach he had raised the siege of Gergovia. The inhabitants of Noviodunum had a mind to take advantage of the unexpected succour; though they had already admitted into the town some Roman Officers; who, perceiving what they were at, thought proper to retire. But Vercingetorix's cavalry having been beat by Cæsar's, which was strengthened by six hundred Germans; the town was obliged to have recourse to the clemency of the Conqueror, and appease his anger by delivering up those who had broke the capitulation. Cæsar, not satisfied with having took three towns on his march; and relieved the Boii by the very terror of his approach; resolved to besiege Avaricum the capital of the Bituriges, persuaded that by reducing that place he should subdue the whole nation.

Bourges.

Before he sat down before Avaricum, Vercingetorix called a great Council; in which he proposed a new plan of war, disagreeable indeed to the country,

A. R. 700. but well-judged as to the Romans. He said they
 Ant. C. ought by no means to engage the Romans, but only
 52. to aim at cutting off their provisions and forage; which was very practicable, as there was nothing on the ground yet; and as the numerous cavalry of the Gauls could easily hinder any small body of infantry from leaving their main army, in order to get in the villages the necessary subsistence for them and the horse; by which means Cæsar's army, being in want of every thing, must either retreat in disorder, or perish by famine. He added, that it was necessary to carry this precaution yet farther, and burn all the towns that were not capable of defence, from whence the Romans might get subsistence. "I am sensible," says he, "that what I propose is grievous; but it is yet more grievous to see our wives and children carried into captivity, and to lose our own lives; which is, however, the inevitable lot of the conquered." This proposal was approved; and above twenty towns of the Bituriges were burnt and destroyed in one day. The neighbouring nations followed their example; nothing but conflagrations were to be seen on all sides; the hopes of Liberty consoled them for their losses.

The city of Avaricum was comprehended in Vercingetorix's project; he was for burning that with the rest. The Bituriges prostrate themselves before the Council, and beg mercy for their capital, one of the finest cities in Gaul, fortified by nature and art; of which they themselves undertook the defence. Their entreaties prevailed; and a good garrison was put into Avaricum. This was the state of affairs when Cæsar sat down before that city. Vercingetorix followed him, and encamped at the distance of fifteen miles. Thus Cæsar found himself obliged to besiege a strong, well-provided place, in sight of an adversary's army at least as numerous as his own.

It is almost incredible how much the Romans suffered in this siege. The country about them was laid waste; and, when any of them went out of their camp

to seek for provisions, they were insulted by Vercingetorix's parties of horse. Their whole reliance was on the Ædui and Boii, to whom Cæsar was continually writing for convoys. But the first of these people, though able, were ill-disposed; and the latter, tho' well-disposed, were unable. So that the Roman soldiers for many days were without bread, and had nothing to eat but the cattle they could pick up in the fields.

Cæsar grew apprehensive that his troops would despond; and, as he visited the quarters, proposed to the soldiers to raise the siege, if they found the scarcity of provisions insupportable. But they unanimously requested him not to do it. They told him, and represented by their Officers, "that the many years they had served under him they had never suffered any disgrace, nor undertook any thing in which they had not succeeded. That they could not but think it inglorious to raise a siege they had began; and had rather undergo the greatest hardships, than leave unrevenged the blood of the Roman Citizens perfidiously massacred by the Gauls at Genabum." What is there impracticable to a General who can inspire his troops with such sentiments?

Meantime Cæsar had intelligence, that Vercingetorix, having eat up the country he first encamped in, was come nearer to the town; and had left his new camp at the head of his whole cavalry, to dress an ambush for the Roman foragers the next day. This was a fine opportunity of attacking the Gaulish camp in the absence of the General. Cæsar resolved not to neglect it; and, setting out at midnight, came in sight of the enemy the next morning. But he found them drawn up in good order on a hill, with a morass in front; so that he should infallibly lose many men in the attack. The Roman soldiers were for fighting, and even thought it disgraceful that the Gauls should dare face them. But Cæsar moderated their fire. He made them observe the posture of the enemy; the danger of attacking them; the inevitable destruction

A. R. 700. of many brave men ; and then added these words full
 Ant. C. 56. of humanity and goodness : " Since you, fellow-soldiers,
 " are willing to face every danger for my glory ; I
 " should be the most ungrateful of men not to be ten-
 " der of the lives of those who ought to be so dear to
 " me." He then returned to his camp before Avari-
 cum ; choosing rather to appear to retreat, than expose
 his soldiers to an unnecessary danger.

This event had like to have occasioned a division among the Gauls ; who, seeing how opportunely the Romans had seized the moment of Vercingetorix's absence to come up to them, suspected some secret understanding between him and Cæsar. Vercingetorix, every part of whose conduct shews his sense and address, easily cleared himself of this ill-founded suspicion. But, being moreover desirous to encourage his army, he produced some Roman slaves, who had been made prisoners in foraging ; and who, broke by severity, repeated the lesson he had taught them. They said that they were legionary soldiers ; that, pressed by hunger, they had straggled in search of provisions ; and that the Roman army was in such want, that Cæsar had resolved to retire, if the town held out three days longer. On this report Vercingetorix triumphed ; and intimated to the Gauls how unworthily they had behaved in suspecting of treason a General who made them victorious without drawing the sword. Every one applauded his discourse ; striking, as their manner was, their lances against their swords ; and persuaded that they should soon be conquerors, and that they had nothing to do towards it but to enable Avaricum to hold out a little longer, they threw into it a reinforcement of ten thousand men ; which was easily effected, as Cæsar had not compleatly invested the place.

The defence of the besieged was not only vigorous, but also skilful. * The Gauls, says Cæsar, are very

* Ut est summæ genus solertiæ, atque ad omnia imitanda atque efficienda, quæ ab quoque tradantur, aptissimum.

A.R. 700.
Ant. C.
32.

ingenious ; easily learn, and perfectly imitate, any thing they see practised. Consequently during the seven years the Romans had been at war with them, they had made great proficiency in the military art ; and turned against their adversaries the inventions they had learnt from them. The Bituriges employed all proper means to resist, and retard, the progress of the Romans. They seized the Roman scythes with running knots, and then drew them over the wall by a machine which was probably a sort of capstane. They raised on their walls wooden towers, as high as those of the Romans, and defended from fire by raw hides. They made frequent sallies ; they undermined the besiegers mounts ; they counterworked their mines, and filled them up with great stones, or poured melted pitch into them, or repulsed the miners and soldiers with long stakes burnt and sharpened at the extremity.

The walls of the Gaulish cities were well contrived for resisting all the methods of attack then in use. They were composed of long massy beams of wood, and free-stones, alternately ranged. Cæsar commends this structure ; because the stone resisted the fire, and the wood the battering-ram.

Spite of so many obstacles, spite of cold, rain, and dirt, the Romans, at the end of twenty-five days siege, had raised a mount, eighty feet high, and three hundred broad ; and had brought it close to the wall. But on a sudden in the middle of the night they perceived their mount smoke : for the besieged had undermined, and fired it. At the same time they made a sally ; bringing with them lighted torches, dry wood, pitch, and all sorts of combustibles. The Romans defended themselves with the same vigour they were attacked with. The fight was long, and obstinate ; and Cæsar has preserved a remarkable instance of the Gaulish intrepidity. A soldier, posted before the city-gate, threw into the fire balls of pitch and tallow to feed it. This man was exposed to a Roman battery, which presently dispatched him. The next man

A. R. 708. man strides over his body, and takes his place. He
 Ant. C. is also killed in the same manner; and a third suc-
 53. ceeds; to the third a fourth; in a word, this dan-
 gerous post was never vacant during the whole fight. At
 last the Romans conquered; beat the besieged back
 into the town; and extinguished the fire.

This was the last effort of the besieged. They were now convinced that it was impossible to save the town; and therefore resolved, in concert with Vercingetorix, to abandon it in the night. This they reckoned they should easily effect by means of a morass that covered their retreat; and the more so as Vercingetorix's camp was near. But the women, finding they were going to be deserted, conjured them with tears not to leave them and their children to the mercy of the victors. And perceiving their entreaties were ineffectual; for * extreme fear, says Cæsar, excludes compassion; they grew desperate and furious, and informed the Romans from the walls, that the garrison prepared for flight: and thus that project was entirely disconcerted.

The next day, as Cæsar meditated an assault, there fell a heavy rain. This he was not sorry for, observing that it made the besieged less vigilant than usual. To increase their security, he deferred the attack some moments, and ordered his troops to act purposely less vigorously. Then on a sudden, having promised rewards to those who should first mount the wall, he gives the signal. The walls are scaled in an instant. The besieged, finding the town took, got together in small bodies, and formed in battalia wherever they had room. But, after waiting in vain for the Romans to come down to them, observing that they were taking measures to get possession of the whole circuit of the walls; they began to fear they should have no outlet left to escape by, and ran all tumultuously to one end of the town. Then the slaughter began. Some, as they endeavoured to get out,

* In summo periculo timor misericordiam non recipit.

were

were slain by the infantry; others, who had got out, were cut to pieces by the cavalry. The city was burnt, and the inhabitants put to the sword. The Roman soldiers, exasperated by the obstinate defence of the town, and eager to revenge the massacre of Genabum, gave no quarter: old men, women, children, all were slaughtered; so that out of forty thousand people that were in the place scarce eight hundred escaped, who, having took to flight at the first alarm, had the luck to reach the Gaulish camp.

Vercingetorix appeared here too a man of courage and invention. He assembled the Gauls, and represented, "that the advantage the Romans had obtained was not the effect of their superiority, either in number or valour; but only of their greater skill in the art of attacking places. That, after all, he could not be reproached with the loss of Avaricum, as he had never advised them to hazard its defence. That however, as they had thereby suffered a considerable loss, he should spare no pains to repair it. That he had great hopes he should soon unite to the league those nations who had hitherto refused to accede to it; and that, if all the Gauls could once be brought to act in union, the whole Universe confederated against them would not be able to do them any hurt. That on their part they ought not to omit any thing conducive to their defence against the enemy, but submit to the fatigue of fortifying their camp." This was what the Gauls had never yet done; bold in danger, lazy in work. This harangue of Vercingetorix revived the drooping courage of his troops, and gave them a high idea of their General. So that, although bad success usually (as Cæsar observes) sinks the reputation of a Commander, Vercingetorix by the loss of Avaricum acquired greater authority among his forces. He was obeyed more punctually than ever: the Gauls submitted to unusual labour, and according to his orders fortified their camp. He, on his side, took great pains to effect what he had promised. He laboured hard to bring all the Gaulish nations to his party;

A. R. 700. party; and succeeded with some of them. He made
 Ant. C. new levies through all the countries that acknowledged
 52. his command, to replace the men he lost at the siege
 of Avaricum; and Teutomatus, King of the Nitio-
 briges, joined him with a reinforcement of cavalry.

Cæsar found in Avaricum provisions enough. He staid there some time to refresh his troops, after the fatigue of a long and troublesome siege; and, when the fine weather was come, he went in search of the enemy. As he had a mind to prevent the conjunction of the whole force of the league, he divided his army. He sent Labienus with four legions against the Senones and Parisii; and resolved to attack himself with the remaining six the fort of the league, by carrying the war into the country of the Arverni. In order to do this, he was obliged to cross the Allier, which Vercingetorix undertook to hinder. But Cæsar deceived him, by marching off the greatest part of his army, while he remained behind himself with two legions screened by a wood from the sight of the enemy. Vercingetorix therefore having advanced to face the four legions, whom he mistook for the whole Roman army; Cæsar had time and opportunity to rebuild a bridge the Gauls had broke down, but whose piles were left in the river. He then ordered the four legions sent before to return with all expedition; passed the river; entered into the territories of the Arverni; and sat down before Gergovia.

Gergovia was a strong place, situated on a mountain whose approaches were difficult; and Vercingetorix was encamped near with a numerous army, covering several hills with his battalions and squadrons; a formidable prospect! He placed his troops in different stations, according to the different nations they were composed of; and every morning the Chiefs of each nation waited on the Generalissimo, to advise with him, or receive his orders. He harrassed too the Romans almost every day by skirmishes, detaching some of his cavalry, intermixed with archers, who fell sometimes on one quarter, sometimes on

another ; and, if he did the besiegers no great damage, at least he exercised, and emboldened, his troops.

A. R. 700.
Ant. C.
524

To compleat his difficulties and troubles, Cæsar saw the Ædui break their alliance with him, and accede to the league. This people, the most antient ally of the Romans, protected by Cæsar against Ariovistus, rescued by him from the oppression of the German Kings, restored to their former greatness, loaded with benefits and marks of confidence, forgot their obligations to their benefactor, and joined the general revolt of Gaul.

This was not done on a sudden. I have observed that Cæsar began to suspect them in the winter. They gave him afterwards slender assistance at the siege of Avaricum. He treated them, however, with great mildness ; out of policy no doubt as much as clemency. Before he besieged Gergovia, having been acquainted with a dispute that had arose between two Candidates for the chief Magistracy, which divided the nation ; as their laws permitted not the first Magistrate to go out of their country, Cæsar was complaisant enough to go to them himself, ordering the Competitors to meet him at Decize, to have their difference decided. During the siege of Gergovia, the Ædui took off the mask ; and even committed horrible outrages against the Romans. The Grandees of that nation, not excepting even him to whom Cæsar adjudged the supreme Magistracy, brought over by the sollicitation, and money, of Vercingetorix, used all sorts of means to make the people take arms ; even so far as to employ the blackest calumny, and to report falsely the death of two Æduan lords, who they said had been murdered by Cæsar's orders ; tho' they were alive and well in the Roman camp, and even treated with distinction by Cæsar. This forged slander had a prodigious effect upon the Æduan soldiers and burghesses. The Roman citizens were every where seized, and ill-treated ; some of them killed, all of them plundered.

Such

A. R. 700. Such outrages would, doubtless, at another time,
 Ant. C. have been speedily and severely revenged by Cæsar.
 52. But the troubles he was now involved in compelled
 him to dissemble. He endeavoured to appease and
 regain the Ædui by gentle means; and he partly suc-
 ceeded. But they had advanced too far, to think of
 a retreat. Cæsar had intelligence, that under a false
 appearance of reconciliation they prepared for an
 open revolt; and even solicited other nations to fol-
 low their example. He feared he should have all the
 Gaulish people on him, at a time when he was eng-
 aged in a very difficult and hazardous enterprize;
 and entertained thoughts of raising the siege, and re-
 joining Labienus, that he might collect his whole
 force together.

He would not, however, seem to run away, lest he
 should increase the confidence and pride of the ene-
 my. He therefore resolved on some *coup d'éclat*, in
 order to retreat victorious: and laid hold of an op-
 portunity of attacking the enemy to advantage. But,
 as he was apprehensive that the ardour of his troops
 might engage them too far, he carefully recommend-
 ed to his Lieutenants who commanded each legion to
 restrain their soldiers, and avoid advancing too far
 into difficult places. "This, says he to them, is to
 "be only a skirmish. Let us make use of our ad-
 "vantage for a little while; but by no means pro-
 "long an engagement, that would become too un-
 "equal."

The attack succeeded to Cæsar's wish; and the
 Romans with surprising ease made themselves masters
 of three different camps of the enemy. Cæsar then
 gave the signal for the retreat, having done all he
 intended; and the tenth legion, which fought near
 his person, obeyed it. But the others, who were dis-
 tant, not having heard it, could not be restrained by
 their Officers. The soldiers saw themselves near the
 town; they were victorious; the hopes of a booty
 like that they made at Avaricum animated them;
 they thought nothing impracticable to their valour.

They

They advance to the foot of the wall ; some of them A.R. p. 22.
find means to get up ; already they think themselves
masters of the place. But the enemy, recovered from
their first fright, rally ; and fall in their turn on these
rash assailants. The Romans are repulsed, and ob-
liged to fight on very disadvantageous ground : those
who first got on the walls are killed, and many others
with them.

Ant. C.
52.

A Centurion performed on this occasion a very generous action, which in some sort compensated for his rashness. "It is I," says he to his soldiers, "who, incited by an unwarrantable desire of glory, have brought you here : it is I, therefore, that must save you at the expence of my life. Take you care only of your retreat." So saying, he advances to the enemy, and kills two of them. His soldiers run to his assistance : "You trouble yourselves to no purpose," says he, "I bleed, I die. Go, rejoin your legion." Thus fighting, and securing his soldiers retreat, he fell.

The loss of the Romans was considerable ; and would have been much greater, had not the tenth legion sustained those who gave way, and given them time to rally. The Gauls upon that thought proper to retire. The Romans had near seven hundred soldiers killed on the spot, and forty-six officers.

Cæsar, who understood too well the nature of valour to misplace it, called the next day a general Assembly ; and therein extremely condemned the temerity, and greediness, of his soldiers ; who had taken upon themselves to judge how far they were to proceed, and what they were to undertake ; without obeying either the signal to retreat, or the orders of their Officers. To convince them the better of their fault, he reminded them of his own conduct at the siege of Avaricum ; when, having surprized the enemy without a General, and without Cavalry, he had chose to give up a certain victory, rather than hazard an inconsiderable loss. He mixed however some praise with his

A. R. 700. his reprimand. He told them *, that he could not
 Ant. C. 52. but admire the astonishing courage of men whose ar-
 dour was not to be stopped, neither by the intrench-
 ments of several camps, nor by the height of the
 mountain, nor the walls of the town. But, he added,
 that he no less blamed the licentiousness and arrogance
 of soldiers, who thought they knew more than their
 General, and could see better than him the way to
 conquest. "Obedience," says he, "and moderation
 "in the pursuit of booty, are virtues no less essential
 "to good soldiers than valour and magnanimity." He concluded, by exhorting them not to be, however, discouraged by a repulse owing to their disadvantageous situation, and not to the courage of the enemy.

The same day, and the following, Cæsar, pursuing the same plan, offered the Gauls battle; but Vercingetorix did not think proper to descend into the plain to accept it. The first of these days, however, the cavalry had a skirmish, in which the Romans had the better. Cæsar, thinking he had done enough to abate the pride of the Gauls, and confirm the courage of his troops, raised the siege; and began his march to the territories of the Ædui. The Gauls offered not to pursue him; he re-established his bridge on the Allier, and passed over.

At this juncture the Ædui declared openly against the Romans. They sent Deputies to enter into a negotiation with Vercingetorix; an alliance was concluded, which they sealed by an horrible perfidy against the Romans. Cæsar had left in the city of Noviodunum, now Nevers, all the Gaulish hostages, his provisions, his military chest, and great part of his own and his army's baggage. He had also sent there many horses bought up in Italy and Spain for

* Quantopere eorum animi magnitudinem admiraretur, quos non
 castrorum munitiones, non altitudo montis, non muris oppidi, tar-
 dare potuisset; tantopere licentiam arrogantiamque reprehendere,
 quod plus se, quam imperatorem, de victoria atque exitu rerum sen-
 tire existimarent: nec minus se in milite modestiam & continentiam,
 quam virtutem atque animi magnitudinem, desiderare.

the service. The Ædui, to whom the city of Noviodunum belonged, massacred the guards Cæsar had left there, and all the Romans they could find; divided amongst them the money and horses; conducted to Bibracte the Gaulish hostages; and fired the city, not thinking themselves strong enough to defend it: as to the corn, they carried away as much as they could of it in so short a time in barks; and burnt the rest, or threw it into the river. At the same time they lined the banks of the Loire with horse and foot, hoping to defend its passage with the more ease, as it was considerably swelled by the melting of the snow; and proposing to oblige Cæsar to return into the Roman province*.

Cæsar was doubtless in an untoward situation. To retreat into the Roman province was inglorious; and, had he so intended, the badness of the ways, and the mountain Cebenna, were almost insuperable obstacles. His reputation, and interest, equally counselled him to rejoin Labienus: but, in order thereto, he was to cross the Loire. If he attempted to re-establish the bridges on that river, beside that it was in itself no easy matter to do in sight of the enemy, he gave them time to increase their forces. He determined therefore to look out for a ford; and having found one, which however took the soldiers up to the shoulders, he placed his cavalry higher, in the broadest part of the river, to break its impetuosity. The enemy, terrified by such boldness, forsook the banks; the Romans happily passed over; and, having got plenty of provisions, marched towards the Senones.

Labienus had performed no great exploits; and thought himself happy in preserving the four legions he commanded. Leaving Agendicum †, where he deposited his baggage, under the care of the new Italian recruits; he advanced, coasting the Yonne and the Seine, as far as Lutetia; with an intention of

* Cæsar's text seems corrupted in this place. I fancy I have hit his thought. † Sens.

A. R. 700. taking that capital of the Parisii, which at that time
 Ant. C.
 52. was accounted an important place, though shut up in
 the island now called l'Isle du Palais. On advice of
 his approach, the neighbouring countries assembled a
 numerous army, and put at the head of it Camulogenus,
 a very old man, but who was reputed a very
 able General. And indeed he acted as such; he
 avoided an engagement; he laid hold of the advan-
 tage of ground; and, as there was then, on the left
 of the Seine above Lutetia, a great morass*, whose
 water ran into that river, he covered himself with it,
 and stopped the Romans. Labienus attempted to
 force a passage, but, not succeeding, returned towards
 Melun. Melodunum; and having surprized that town, most
 of whose inhabitants were in Camulogenus's army, he
 crossed the Seine there; and marched back to Lute-
 tia; following the right bank of the river. The
 Gaulish General, being unwilling he should seize, and
 fortify, Lutetia, set it on fire; broke down its bridges;
 and, covered † by the before-mentioned morass, kept
 in his camp opposite to the Romans, with the river
 between them: whilst the Bellovacii, being informed
 of the revolt of the Adui, were assembling their
 forces with all expedition; so that Labienus was in
 danger of being put between two fires.

The news he received at the same time of the rais-
 ing of the siege of Gergovia, and of the new acces-
 sions to the Gaulish league, increased his apprehen-
 sions. He even heard that Cæsar had been compelled
 to retake the route of the Roman province; and was
 uneasy to find himself separated by a great river from
 the baggage of the whole army, which had been left
 at Agendicum. He concluded, it was proper to
 think of a safe retreat, rather than of making con-
 quests. And this was the method he took to ef-
 fect it.

* This morass was made probably by the river Bievre.

† I read in Cæsar's text "protecti" palude, according to the con-
 jecture of a learned interpreter, instead of "profeci."

A. R. 700
Ant. C.
52.

He had brought from Melodunum fifty boats, of which he gave the command to as many Roman Knights, and ordered them to fall down the river at night, without noise, four miles below Lutetia (that is pretty near the place where now is the village of Auteuil) and there to wait quietly for him. His design was to cross there. But, in order to deceive the enemy, he sent to the opposite side (that is, towards the place where now is Conflans near Charenton) five cohorts, who escorted the baggage, and began their march with much bustle; and who were attended by some barks that Labienus had got together, which made a great noise with their oars. He left five other cohorts for a camp-guard; and taking with him the rest of the army, that is, three legions, he advanced silently to the boats that waited for him.

The enemy were not apprized of this motion until a little before day. They came immediately with the greatest part of their forces, and attacked Labienus, whose cavalry and infantry had now gained the left bank of the river. The battle was fought in the plain where are now the villages of Issy and Vaugirard. It was sharp and obstinate. The Gauls behaved well. Camulogenus animated them by his example, and, notwithstanding his age, performed the duty of General and Soldier; he went where the danger was greatest; threw himself into the thickest of the engagement; and at last fell sword in hand. The victory of the Romans was compleat; and Labienus retreated without difficulty to Agendicum; from whence he marched his four legions to Cæsar.

The revolt of the Ædui had brought over to the league several other Gaulish people. Besides the great authority they had all over the country, the hostages they had seized at Nevers gave them power to compel even those to follow their steps who would otherwise have continued quiet. Their ardour for war was such that they sacrificed to it even their national interest, and the jealousy of command. They at first insisted on being at the head of the league,

A. R. 700. and there was an Assembly held on that occasion of
 Ant. C.
 52. the Députies of all the confederated nations ; but the
 majority being for Vercingetorix, and having con-
 firmed to him the title of Generalissimo, the Ædui
 submitted to the decision ; and consented, with regret,
 to take orders from an Arvernian.

Vercingetorix, though at the head of all the Celtic, and part of the Belgic Gaul, was not overset by the power of so formidable a league. He forgot not that the Romans were invincible by fair fighting ; and determined to prosecute the war according to the plan that had hitherto succeeded. He ordered therefore the nations that obeyed him to lay waste their countries about Cæsar's army ; and in order to starve him, by cutting off his provisions and forage, he augmented his cavalry to the number of fifteen thousand.

Those of Lyonnois. He thought himself however strong enough to act offensively against the Roman province ; and invaded it accordingly in three places. Ten thousand foot and eight thousand horse, partly Ædui, partly Seguiani, marched by his order against the Allobrogi ; with whom he at the same time began a negotiation, flattering them with the hopes of being at the head of the whole province. The Gabali and some of the Arverni made an irruption into the territories of the Helvii, who possessed the Vivarais : and those of Rouergue and Querci, into the dominions of the Volsci Arecomici, whose capital was Nismes. This diversion was well-concerted ; but the main success depended on what was done against Cæsar himself.

Those of Gevaudan. That General was aware of the advantage the Gauls had over him by their superiority in horse ; and not having it in his power to procure any either from the Roman province, or Italy, his communication with these countries being cut off, he had recourse to the German nations he had subdued in the preceding campaigns. And he got from the other side of the Rhine some horsemen, and some light-armed foot who used to fight with them ; but, as they were ill-mounted,

he

he distributed among them the horses of the Roman Knights and Officers. This reinforcement proved very serviceable to Cæsar.

A. R. 700.

Ant. C.

52.

He intended to get into the territories of the Sequani, by crossing the country of the Lingones, who had continued faithful to him. His design was, as he says, to be the better able to succour the Roman province; perhaps he had thoughts of retiring there for his own security: Vercingetorix at least fancied so; and, persuaded that the Romans fled, deviated unluckily from the plan he had till then strictly adhered to.

He assembled the Officers of the cavalry, and told them, that the hour of victory was come: "If," adds he, "we had no further view than a present advantage, we might let the Romans run away into their province. But who doubts but they will soon return with more numerous forces to re-attack our liberty? You must therefore engage them now, while they march encumbered with baggage. Their cavalry will not venture to face you: and as to their infantry, if they defend their baggage, they will not be able to advance; if (which I think more probable) they abandon it, it will be such an infamy and loss as will damp any future inclination in them to revisit our country. To encourage you to do your duty, I will have the whole army under arms before the camp." These words were followed by a general acclamation: and the Officers in their transport swore, and afterwards made the private men swear, never to return to their homes, nor revisit their parents, wives, and children, if they did not twice pierce through the Roman army from one end to the other.

The next day the Gaulish General executed his project. He drew out his whole army; and detached his cavalry into three bodies, with orders to attack the Romans at the same time in front and flank. Cæsar conformed to the enemies disposition: he also divided his horse into three corps; that he might at once

A. R. 700. make head on all sides: ordered his infantry to keep
 Ant. C. quietly under arms: and placed his baggage in the
 5^o. center.

Plut. Cæs. If we form our notions of this engagement merely from the account of it in Cæsar's Commentaries, it appears plainly to have been a sharp one. But we learn elsewhere some circumstances that prove it to have been at first very dangerous for the Romans, and that Cæsar himself had like to have been made prisoner in it. Plutarch relates that he lost his sword; and that the Arverni hung it up as a trophy in one of their temples. He adds, that Cæsar, as he passed through the country afterwards, saw that sword; and, being advised by his friends to take it down, would not, because he looked on it as sacred; or rather (for Cæsar certainly was not so scrupulous) because he well knew that nothing could impeach his glory; and that he should pay it but a bad compliment in supposing it might suffer from such a monument. In his Journal (which ought it seems to be distinguished from his Commentaries, and which has been lost several ages) he himself related, as the ancient commentator on Virgil says, that he had been took prisoner in the engagement, and was carrying off, armed as he was, by a Gaul on his horse; when another Gaul, who was doubtless a superior Officer, seeing him in that condition, cried out by way of insult, "Cæsar, Cæsar;" the ambiguity of which word, it signifying in the Celtic language, "release him, let him go," saved him, and occasioned him whose prisoner he was to set him at liberty.

Ser. ad
Vir. Aen.
II. 743.

This last fact seems improbable, and I doubt whether the authority of the Grammarian I have quoted is sufficient to give it credit. But so much is certain from Cæsar's own confession in his Commentaries, that the Roman cavalry gave way, and that it was the Germans who procured him the victory. It was they routed the Gaulish cavalry; and afterwards cut most of it to pieces. Vercingetorix, discouraged by such bad success, retreated to Alesia; and encamped under

under the walls of that city. Cæsar followed him, A. R. 700.
and undertook to besiege him there. Ant. C.

52.

The siege of Alesia is the most extraordinary event in all Cæsar's wars with the Gauls; and that wherein, according to Plutarch, that incomparable General gave the greatest proofs of a valour and skill worthy of the highest admiration. And indeed it seems scarce credible, that with ten legions, which could not exceed sixty thousand foot; and perhaps ten or twelve thousand horse, the foreign cavalry included; a General should be able to inclose in his lines eighty thousand enemies; and make head at the same time against an army of above two hundred and forty thousand from without, that came to the relief of the besieged town. Therefore Paterculus, with his usual exaggeration and flattery, assures us *, that it is scarce conceivable that a man should undertake such an enterprise; but that a God alone could accomplish it. But let us stick to the more modest and sensible expression of Plutarch: and let us join thereto the judgment of a great Captain of the last age, I mean the Duke of Rohan, whose words follow.

" Cæsar is not less to be admired for his conduct in sieges than for his other military exploits. For all that the best modern Generals practise is drawn from his actions; and all that we wonder at about Ostend, Breda, Bolduc, and other sieges of the late Prince Maurice, who excelled in this particular, is infinitely short of the two circumvallations of Alesia: the industry, labour, and expedition, whereof greatly surpass all that has been ever done elsewhere. I know that the invention of gun-powder and artillery has altered the method of fortification, and of the attack and defence of places; yet not so much but that their principles appear to be took particularly from Cæsar, who excelled in this matter all the Roman Generals."

* Circa Aleiam tantæ res gestæ, quantas audere vix hominis; perficere pene nullius nisi dei. VELL. Q. 47.

A. R. 700. This was the opinion of the Duke of Rohan sixty
 Ant. C. 52. years ago. As since that time the military art has been
 extremely improved, I dare not extend his reflection
 to our days. But, as far as I may judge of an art so
 much above my capacity, I imagine that the principles
 are still the same, however the manner of their execu-
 tion may vary.

Such of my readers as are curious to know the de-
 tail of the siege of Alesia, and of Cæsar's works about
 this town, may find it in a piece at the end of the
Eclaircissements Geographiques sur la Gaule of M. d'An-
 ville. That piece very judiciously explains Cæsar's
 text; and has annexed to it a topographical map of
 the country round Alesia, which much illustrates the
 account of the siege. If I intended to describe it cir-
 cumstantially, I could not do better than insert this
 learned piece. But, following my prescribed plan, I
 shall abridge it; minding more what may give an in-
 sight into human nature, than what particularly re-
 gards the military art. Cæsar observed that the Gauls,
 as I said, were terrified by the defeat of their cavalry;
 which was the part of their forces they most depended
 on. This determined him the sooner to undertake so
 hazardous an enterprize as that of besieging a great
 strong city, that had actually under its walls an army
 of eighty thousand men. For Alesia was situated on
 the summit of a mountain, called now Mount-Auxois,
 and Vercingetorix was encamped half-way up it.
 Cæsar therefore set about a line of contravallation, in
 which he inclosed both the town and the Gaulish
 camp, whose circuit was eleven miles. Before this
 work was perfected, Vercingetorix ventured on an-
 other engagement of the horse, but with no better suc-
 cess; for the Germans again made the Roman cavalry
 victorious.

The Gaulish General then saw he had no other
 chance, but that of being disengaged by a powerful
 army. He dismissed his cavalry, ordering each of
 them to repair home, and engage their countrymen
 to enlist every one able to bear arms. He recom-
 mended

A. R. 700.
Ant. C.
52.

mended to them above all things dispatch ; representing, that he had bread but for thirty days, or somewhat longer with the utmost œconomy ; that therefore a moment was not to be lost, since on the celerity of the succours depended the liberty of Gaul, and the preservation of the flower of its youth. When the horse were gone, he entered into the town with his whole army ; took possession of all the corn and provisions, which he distributed by measure ; and thus waited for the expected succours.

Mean while Cæsar carried on his works, and compleated their circuit, spite of the frequent sallies of the besieged. But as his lines included a great space, and consequently were the more difficult to defend ; he added thereto new fosses, strengthened by palisades, and wells filled with pointed stakes but four inches above ground ; and strewed also all about with caltrops : so that the enemy should meet at every step with snares and obstacles to hinder their advancing. When the lines of contravallation were perfected, and the town consequently compleatly invested ; Cæsar made a line of circumvallation of the same sort towards the country, fourteen miles in compass. These last lines were to defend his army from the succours Vercingetorix expected.

All Gaul, both Celtic and Belgic, was in motion ; preparing these succours. It was not, however, thought proper to assemble all that were able to bear arms, as Vercingetorix desired. It was held sufficient to order each nation to furnish a contingent ; all which together made an army of two hundred and forty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse. Among the Commanders of this numerous army, Comius King of the Atrabates was conspicuous ; he had till then seemed greatly attached to the Roman interest, and had been well rewarded for it : but his zeal for the common liberty of Gaul, and the glory of his nation, got the better of all other motives, and effaced the remembrance of every thing else. The country of the Ædui was the general rendezvous of this

A. R. 790. this prodigious army. It was reviewed there; and
 Ant. C. 52. four Commanders in chief, and a Council appointed. After which they all advanced towards Alesia, full of courage and confidence; and satisfied that the Romans would not bear the sight of such multitudinous forces, who were to attack them on one side, while the besieged were to make a vigorous sally on the other.

However expeditious the Gaulish Chiefs and nations had been, they were not able to come at the appointed time; and there began to be an extreme want of provisions in Alesia. As they had no means of receiving information from without, the uncertainty they were in added to their misery: and, Vercingetorix having called a Council, some were for surrendering; others for making a general sally on the besiegers, to have at least the consolation of dying sword in hand. An Arvernian of great quality and authority, named Critognatus, made another proposal; horrible indeed and inhuman; but which shews how far the Gauls carried the desire of preserving their liberty.

" I disdain, says he, even to mention the opinion
 " of those who are resolved on a cowardly, shameful,
 " servitude; such should neither be reckoned Gauls,
 " nor suffered to come to this Council. But I must
 " refute those who are for making a general sally, and
 " dying bravely sword in hand. For this indeed
 " seems at first sight worthy of our antient virtue.
 " But I am not afraid to say *, that it is at the bottom
 " weakness, not courage, that inspires such thoughts,
 " and renders us unable to support want a few days.
 " It is easier to find those who will fight to death,
 " than those who can patiently endure pain. How-
 " ever, I should approve of this proposal, which I
 " confess has something generous in it, if no more
 " than our lives was concerned. But, in this deli-

* Animi est ista mollities, non virtus, inopiam paulisper ferre non posse. Qui se ultro morti offerant facilius reperintur, quam quidorem patienter ferant.

" beration,

" beration, we must keep all Gaul in view, whom we
" have called to our assistance. Eighty thousand men
" slaughtered must not a little dispirit and amaze
" their relations and friends; who will be obliged to
" fight in the midst of their dead bodies. Deprive
" not then of your assistance those, who, to save you,
" expose themselves to the greatest dangers; and ruin
" not by an inconsiderate temerity and false valour
" the remaining hopes of Gaul; nor condemn her to
" an eternal slavery. If the expected succours are not
" arrived exactly at the appointed time, ought you
" therefore to suspect the fidelity and constancy of
" your countrymen? And can you think that it is
" for amusement that the Romans labour on those
" lines towards the country? Though you hear not
" from your friends, because all communication is
" hindered; yet you may learn the approach of the
" succours from your enemies themselves; who;
" through fear of them, work day and night without
" ceasing on those fortifications. What then should
" I propose? What but to do, as our ancestors did,
" in a much less interesting war than this we are now
" engaged in? Compelled by the Cimbri and Teu-
" tones to shut themselves up in their towns, and re-
" duced to a distress equal to that we now experi-
" ence, rather than surrender to their enemies, they
" chose to sacrifice to their subsistence the bodies of
" such, as age incapacitated from being otherwise
" serviceable to their country. Here is a precedent
" for us. But, supposing we had none, we ought to
" give one to posterity. The motives that animate
" us, the interest of our common liberty, would a-
" bundantly justify us in so doing. What difference
" is there not between this war and that of the Cim-
" bri! The Cimbri, after they had ravaged Gaul,
" quitted it, to go and plunder other countries;
" leaving us our customs, our laws, our lands, our
" liberties. But what is it the Romans aim at, what
" intend? You too well know. Jealous of the peo-
" ple whose military reputation rivals theirs, they in-

A.R. 700. " tend to establish themselves in their countries and
Ant. C. " cities, and reduce them to perpetual servitude.
52. "

" This is the object of all their wars. And, if you
" are unacquainted with what passes in remote coun-
" tries, cast your eyes on that part of Gaul, which,
" reduced to a Roman province, has lost all its pri-
" vileges ; is no longer governed by its antient laws ;
" but, subjected to the fasces, groans under all the
" hardships and indignities of the most abject slavery."

This inhuman proposal shocked not the audience. They resolved to embrace it, if necessary, rather than surrender. Mean time, they tried another resource, less unnatural indeed, but no less cruel ; which was to turn out of the town all useless mouths. The Mandubii, to whom the city belonged, were driven thence ; they, their wives, and children. Cæsar would not receive them ; and they perished miserably between the Roman camp and the walls of their own city.

At last the long-expected succours arrive, and encamp on a hill five hundred paces off the Roman lines. The next day the Gaulish cavalry covered a plain about three miles long, that was seen from the town. This filled the besieged with inexpressible joy ; they thought the time of their deliverance was come ; and, not to be wanting on their side, they came out of the place, and prepared to second vigorously those who were come to their assistance. But their hopes were frustrated. They did nothing extraordinary themselves ; and the cavalry of the Gaulish army, after an engagement that lasted till night, were repulsed, principally by the Germans, and retreated with loss.

After the interval of a day, the Gauls returned to the charge ; and attempted at midnight to force the Roman lines on the side of the plain. At the same time Vercingetorix, advertised by their cries, made a sally. The Romans, who were on their guard, and had all their posts appointed, turn out at the noise, and put themselves every where in a state of defence.

The

A.R. 700.
Ant. Q.
500.

The assault was brisk on the side of the plain. The Gauls assisted their bravery, by all sorts of inventions, to fill ditches and pull down ramparts; as fascines, iron hooks, and the like. The Romans defended themselves with equal courage; and indeed Cæsar's fortifications fought for themselves. All approach to them had been rendered so difficult by those wells, stakes, and caltrops, I spoke of, that most of the assailants either fell, or wounded themselves in getting at them. When day appeared, they had not forced any part of the lines; and, fearing to be taken in flank by some Roman troops posted on an eminence on their left, they abandoned the enterprize. The besieged, who with much pains had done yet less, returned on their side into the town.

Two unsuccessful attempts damped not the Gaulish courage. They sought for the foible of the Roman works, and found it. North of the town was a hill of too great a compass to be took into the circumvallation; so that the Romans were posted on its ascent, and consequently commanded by its summit. Here two Legions encamped, under the command of two Lieutenant-generals, Antistius Rheginus and Canninius Rebilus. The Gauls, informed of these circumstances by the country people, detached fifty-five thousand of their best troops; who having marched during night, and kept all the morning behind the hill to recover themselves, appeared on a sudden towards noon, and furiously attacked the quarters of the two legions. At the same time their cavalry advanced into the plain; the whole army drew out before the camp; and Vercingetorix, who from the citadel of Alesia observed these motions, made another sally more vigorous than the preceding.

The Romans, attacked in so many places at once, scarce sufficed for the defence of them all. What disturbed them the most, was not the enemy which every one saw before him, but the cries of the combatants behind; which informed them that their safety depended on another's valour. Besides, as im-
agination.

A. R. 700. ^{Ant. C.} ^{52.} tion often aggrandizes absent things, they thought
the places out of sight were in the greatest danger.
Cæsar chose a post from whence he could see every
thing; and from thence he gave his orders, and sent
reinforcements where necessary.

Vercingetorix, and those who attacked the camp
of Antistius and Rebilus, performed wonders that
day. They were near forcing the lines in two places.
But Cæsar prevented it; he sent several times fresh
troops to sustain those that were tired; he went from
one side to the other, and his presence always brought
victory. The route of the Gaulish detachment was
compleat. Its Commander was made prisoner; another
General-officer was killed on the spot; seventy-
four colours were took and brought to Cæsar; and
out of such a multitude very few regained the
Gaulish camp. They too carried with them terror
and confusion. Every body took to their heels; and,
had not the fatigue of so obstinate a fight incapacitated
the victors from pursuing these runaways, this pro-
digious army might have been entirely exterminated.
At midnight Cæsar detached his cavalry, who over-
took the hindmost, slew many, took some prisoners,
and so well dispersed the rest, that not a single platoon
durst keep the field.

The besieged had no other refuge, and consequently
nothing to do but surrender at discretion. Vercinge-
torix assembled the Council, and spoke like a Hero.
He said, that it was not his private interest, but the
common cause of the Gaulish liberty, which had been
the motive in all he had done: and that, since there
was a necessity of yielding to fortune, he proffered
himself as a victim for them; whether they should
think proper to appease the anger of the conqueror by
his death, or to deliver him up alive. A deputation
immediately waited on Cæsar to receive his orders;
who insisted on having their arms, and all their Com-
manders, delivered up directly. The besieged could
refuse nothing; they threw their arms into the fosse;
and brought their Chiefs to Cæsar, who was at the
head

head of his lines. Vereingtorix, as Plutarch reports, A.R. 701.
affected pomp and grandeur, even in that hour of humili- Ann. C.
ation. Armed completely, and mounted on a horse richly caparisoned, he advanced to Cæsar; and, having pranced about, dismounted, quitted his arms, and prostrated himself before him. If he had hopes of pardon, as Dio says, he deceived himself: for he was detained prisoner, and kept to grace the victor's triumph.

All those in Alesia were made prisoners of war and slaves. Cæsar divided them among his soldiers, to each one. Only he reserved twenty thousand Ædui and Arverni, as a means to recover those two potent nations. And he succeeded: they had both recourse to his clemency, obtained peace, and had their countrymen restored.

Thus ended this campaign; the most difficult and dangerous of all that exercised the valour and skill of Cæsar in Gaul. However great and glorious his victory was, he did not think he had yet entirely subdued the haughty Gauls; and he judged well. He determined therefore not to go far from his army in the winter; and took up his residence at Bibracte, the capital of the Ædui; having sent his Legions into quarters in different countries, yet near enough mostly to be able to assist one another on occasion.

SER. SULPICIUS RUFUS.

M. CLAUDIO MARCELLUS.

A.R. 701.

Ant. C.

51.

Hitherto we have been guided by Cæsar himself in the relation of his exploits. But he had never leisure to digest the two last campaigns in Gaul. A friend of his, either Hirtius or Oppius, or some other, has supplied them, and wrote an eighth book, which serves for a continuation and completion of the seven composed by Cæsar.

This writer, in a short preface addressed to Balbus, who was as well as himself firmly attached to Cæsar, makes a panegyric on the Commentaries of his General,

VIII.

De B. Gal.

A. R. 701. ^{Ant. C.} neral, which the reader, I hope, will be obliged to me
for inserting here. * “ It is agreed, says he, that
the most laboured pieces are not comparable to the
elegant simplicity of Cæsar’s Commentaries. + He
only intended them as memoirs for future historians.
But they are so much approved and esteemed by every
body, that, far from being serviceable to those who
would write history, they on the contrary discourage
them from the attempt. And this we have more rea-
son to admire than others, who can only know the
excellence of the work; whereas we know besides
with what ease and dispatch it was wrote.”

It is no wonder that the writer of the Continuation,
having so high an idea of the work he was about to
finish, should dread a comparison, and even suspect
his inability to keep up to its spirit. And indeed he
falls short of his model in its imitable perspicuity of
expression; and its ingenuous, or at least seemingly
ingenuous, simplicity, which affects, not to preju-
dice the reader, but to submit every thing to his judg-
ment. There appears in this eighth book, what is not
in the seven preceding, a care to extol Cæsar’s meri-
torious, and to excuse his blameable, actions. But
an author may be inferior to Cæsar, and yet have con-
siderable merit. This is the case of the piece I speak

* Constat inter omnes nihil tam operose ab aliis esse perfectum,
quod non horum elegantia Commentariorum supereretur; qui sunt
editi, ne scientia tantarum rerum scriptoribus deesset; adeoque pro-
bantur omnium judicio, ut præreta, non præbita, facultas scriptoribus
videatur. Cujus tamen rei major nostra quam reliquorum est ad-
miratio. Ceteri enim quam bene atque emendate, nos etiam quam
facile atque celeriter, confecerit scimus.

+ This is exactly the same judgment as Cicero has made of Cæsar’s
Commentaries: “ Nothing, says he, can be more elegant, nothing
more simple. Cæsar’s relation is quite divested of ornament, being
intended only as materials for an history. But he has laid a stumbling-
block for weak men only, who may attempt to improve and heighten
his charming simplicity: judicious people will take care how they set
about it. For in history nothing is to be preferred to an elegant per-
spicuous brevity.” Nudi sunt (commentarii Cæsaris) recti, & venusti
omni ornatu orationis, tanquam veste, detracto. Sed dum alios voluit
habere parata unde sumerent qui vellent scribere historiam, ineptis
gratum fortasse fecit, qui volunt illa calamistris inurere; sanos qui
dem homines a scribendo deterruit. Nihil enim est in historia pura &
illustri brevitate dulcis. Cic. Bruto, n. 262.

of; and after which I am going to write: and we may think ourselves happy to have from the same hand memoirs of Cæsar's Alexandrian, and African, wars. The Greek writers have given us nothing near equal to them concerning these great events.

Cæsar's precaution to winter in Gaul was not un-useful. The Gauls could not relish the yoke; and, perceiving that the last campaign the re-union of their forces had not succeeded, they proceeded on another system. This was to set on foot as many different wars, and to raise as many different armies, as there were considerable nations among them. They thought the Romans would neither have forces, nor time, enough to reduce them all, one after another; and that those, who happened to be the sufferers, would have no reason to complain, as they would purchase with their particular loss the common liberty of the whole nation.

Cæsar, who got information of their design, did not give them time to execute it. He marched in the midst of winter with two Legions against the Bituriges; subdued them in forty days; and compelled them to give him hostages. On his return to Bibracte he learned that the Canutes were in motion. Immediately he sets out, and with two other Legions enters the rebel country; lays it waste; and scatters the troops who began to assemble. Such as escaped from the sword of the conqueror, had no other resource than to disperse among the neighbouring nations. These two expeditions took Cæsar up during the winter.

In the beginning of the spring, the Bellovaci found him more serious employment. This nation, the fiercest and most warlike of the Belgæ, would not send their contingent to the army that went to the assistance of Vercingetorix; pretending to wage war by themselves, and to take orders from no-body. Only the pressing solicitation of Comius the Atrebatian prevailed on them to furnish two thousand men to the league. As therefore they had but little share

SULPICIUS, CLAUDIUS, Consuls.

A. R. 701. in the disgrace of the Gauls before Alesia, they had preserved all their haughtiness, as well as forces ; and, uniting with some neighbouring nations, set on foot a numerous army, and prepared to invade the Soissonnois, which was dependent on the Remi, who were allies of the Romans. The Generals of the confederate army were Correus, of the Bellocaci, and Comius. On hearing this, Cæsar leads against them four Legions, taking such as were freshest. For * though he spared not himself, running continually from danger to danger, and from fatigue to fatigue ; he took great care to save his soldiers, and make them take their turns in the fatigues and dangers of his expeditions.

I shall not enter into the detail of the operations of this war, which was conducted by the Bellocaci and their allies with as much skill as courage. Here is an instance of their address and cunning. The armies had long lain near one another, and skirmishes had happened almost every day, in which the Gauls had often had the advantage. Cæsar, not thinking himself strong enough, sent for three Legions more, which were brought to him by Trebonius. On the arrival of this reinforcement the Bellocaci knew it was proper to retreat. But a retreat was not easily made before such an enemy as Cæsar. They had therefore recourse to a stratagem : which was to collect and place at the head of their line all the fascines they had in the camp. When they had raised the pile, they fired it at night. And under favour of this blaze, which hid them from the Romans, they decamped with all diligence ; and having got out of Cæsar's reach (who suspected their design, but was hindered from pursuing them by the fire, and was even apprehensive of some ambuscade) they went and encamped on an advantageous spot, ten miles from the place they had quitted.

As to the valour of the Bellocaci, it is extolled on all occasions in Cæsar's Commentaries. But I ought

* Perpetuo suo labore, in vicem legionibus expeditionum opus
injungebatur.

not

SULPICIUS, CLAUDIUS, Consuls.

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A.R. 701.

Ant. C.

51.

not to omit the signal example of it given by their General. In the last action, wherein they were entirely defeated ; when their affairs were desperate, and no-body thought of any thing but flight ; no danger could force Correus to quit the fight, no offer from the Romans allure him to accept of quarter. He fought to the last with an invincible courage ; and, as he wounded many Romans, constrained them at last to transfix him with their javelins.

The Commander of the Rhemi, who were on Cæsar's side, and had sent him a body of horse, manifested equal courage. His name was Vertiscus, and he was one of the most considerable persons in the nation, and so old that he could scarce sit on his horse : yet, according to the Gaulish maxims, he did not think his age a dispensation either from accepting the offered command, or from fighting when necessary. He died in the bed of honour ; fighting at the head of his cavalry, which had fell into an ambuscade of the Bellovacii.

I have said already that the engagement in which Correus lost his life, put an end to the war. The vanquished had no worse conditions imposed, than to give hostages to Cæsar, and promise him fidelity. Comius alone would not hear of submitting, having a particular reason for distrusting the Romans. The fact is as follows. We have seen this Atrebatican constantly attached to Cæsar, and even doing him signal service, particularly in his expedition against Great Britain. He afterwards changed his system, allured by the desire of restoring to the Gauls their liberty. In the winter that preceded the general revolt of the Gauls, he laboured to engage the people of his canton to accede to the general league. Cæsar was then in Cisalpine Gaul : and Labienus, informed of Comius's secret practices, thought himself at liberty to use perfidy towards the perfidious. He would not send for him, in order to secure him ; apprehending he might not obey ; and that he should thereby give him a hint to be on his guard. But he sent Volusenus Quadra-

A. R. 701. tus, with orders to entice him to an interview, in
 Ant. C. which some Roman Centurions should kill him. Co-
 mius came to the interview; and, Volusenus having
 took him by the hand, a Centurion cut him over the
 head with his sword. Upon this the Gauls who ac-
 companied Comius drew; and the Romans did the
 same: however, they did not engage, aiming at no-
 thing on both sides but to retire; the Romans, be-
 cause they concluded that Comius's wound was mor-
 tal; and the Gauls, because they apprehended an am-
 buscade. From that time Comius determined never
 to be in the same place with any Roman: and for this
 reason, when the Bellovaci made their peace, he went
 into Germany to seek a retreat.

Cæsar employed the rest of the campaign in com-
 pleating the pacification of Gaul, by himself or his
 Lieutenant-generals. It was now the eighth year of
 his command, and he made it a point to leave the
 province perfectly subdued, when he should quit his
 Government. He would therefore omit nothing that
 might contribute to extinguish, in the different parts
 of Gaul, the sparks of the great fire that broke out
 the preceding year; and to compel all those who yet
 persisted in rebellion to lay down their arms.

While his Lieutenant-generals were acting in divers
 places according to this plan, he took on himself to
 revenge anew the fifteen cohorts exterminated by
 Ambiorix in the country of the Eburones. He was
 extremely vexed at not having been able to lay hold
 of that perfidious Gaul. He endeavoured, by the
 terrible havock he renewed in his country, at least to
 render him so odious to his countrymen who suffered
 so much on his account, that he should have no
 chance of regaining their friendship, or of being re-
 stored to his possessions.

This expedition did not take up much time. At
 his return he left Mark Anthony, his Quæstor, with
 fifteen cohorts in the country of the Bellovaci, to awe
 the Belgæ. He went himself among the other na-
 tions, where tranquillity was not thoroughly re-es-
 tablished;

lished ; and, at the same time that he exacted hostages from them to insure their fidelity, he consoled them by his obliging behaviour ; and endeavoured to dissipate those fears that might have been productive of a fresh revolt.

A.R. 701.

Ant. C.

51.

In particular, he visited the Carnutes, who had given the signal for the general rebellion, and had also massacred in Genabum a great number of Romans. The heinousness of their crimes made them apprehend a rigorous national punishment. Cæsar promised them pardon, provided they delivered up to him Guturvatus, who was the ringleader of the revolt, and author of the massacre. Though this wretch hid himself carefully, he could not escape the search of a whole people, whose interest was so much concerned in discovering him. He was given up to Cæsar ; who, says his continuator, was constrained by his soldiers to do violence to his natural clemency. The Romans imputed to Guturvatus all the dangers they had been exposed to, all the losses they had sustained. He was therefore scourged and beheaded. Cæsar's policy, which thought proper to mix some severity with his mildness, was, I believe, at least as much the occasion of this execution, as his soldiers clamours. He more than once made use of the artifice of making his army demand, what he thought was too odious to come from himself.

While he was in this country he was informed, that the obstinate resistance of the inhabitants of Uxellodunum * in Querci stopped the progress of the Roman arms, commanded in those parts by Caninius Rebilus and C. Fabius. These Lieutenant-generals; one of whom had two Legions, and the other twenty-five cohorts, under him ; had easily dispersed a numerous army that assembled in Poitou, out of the remains of the grand rebellion ; under the command of Dumnacus of Anjou, and Drapes, a Senonois. Dum-

* The situation of this city is uncertain. Several think that the mountain on which it stood is Le Puech d'Usselou, on the confines of Querci and Limosin, near Martel.

A. R. 501. ^{Ant. C.} natus retired to an extremity of Gaul: Drapes joined Luterius, Prince, or at least one of the principal Lords, of Querci; who was an irreconcileable enemy to the Romans, and had by order of Vercingetorix attempted to invade the Roman province; and who afterwards, being shut up in Alesia, and having by some means escaped from thence, had continued ever since in arms, and could not bring himself to submit to the conqueror. As they found they were not strong enough to keep the field in presence of Caninius, who was in pursuit of Drapes; they threw themselves into Uxellodunum, a strong town, surrounded by steep rocks, that made it difficult of access to troops, even when they had no opposers. Caninius notwithstanding encamped before the city, and prepared to besiege it.

The siege of Alesia had taught Luterius in what manner the Romans could invest and blockade towns. He therefore knew, and represented, the necessity of providing Uxellodunum with all necessaries, before the enemy had compleated their formidable lines. And accordingly he went out of the town with Drapes, at the head of the greatest part of their forces, to fetch a great convoy. But, on their return, Caninius fell on them, plundered the convoy, and defeated the escorte. Drapes was took prisoner, and Luterius escaped with difficulty. The garrison left in Uxellodunum did not exceed two thousand: but the inhabitants were brave. So that, though Caninius had began a line of contravallation, and was joined by Fabius, they would not surrender their town.

Cæsar, informed of the state of affairs, thought his presence was necessary at this siege; and went to it in haste with his cavalry, ordering two Legions to follow him. He came there in full resolution to make an example of the Uxellodunians; left, if their resistance went unpunished, the other places that were advantageously situated should be tempted to imitate them; which was more likely to happen, as all the Gauls knew that he had but one campaign more to stay.

stay in his province, so that they had only to hold out another year, in order to free themselves from all future fears.

The town had provisions sufficient for those who were in it: therefore to starve them into compliance would have been a work of time. Cæsar resolved to cut off the water of the besieged. They were supplied, partly by a river, which almost surrounded the mountain on which the city stood; and partly by a plentiful spring at the foot of their walls. Cæsar began by hindering them from watering at the river; posting archers and slingers, and even machines, to gall all who appeared on the other side.

The fountain remained, which was a good way up the mountain, and commanded by the town. Every body in the Roman camp wished to deprive them of it; but Cæsar was the only person knew how to effect it. He raised a terras sixty feet high, on which he erected a tower of ten stories; and, at the same time, ordered a mine to be dug to the very source of the spring. The terras was first finished, and as the tower that was on it, and the batteries thereon, commanded the fountain, the besieged were much incommoded, as they could not water without great danger; so that not only the beasts, but many men, perished with thirst. They therefore resolved to make an extraordinary effort to ruin this work of the besiegers.

They fill casks with tallow, pitch, and chips; and having fired them, roll them towards the work. At the same time, to hinder the besiegers from extinguishing the fire, they make a vigorous sally. They had the advantage of the ground: so that the Romans had enough to do, being forced to fight and protect their work at once. Cæsar upon this makes a false attack, as if he intended to scale the walls. This obliged the besieged to retire into the town; and the Romans extinguished easily the fire, which had done but small damage to their work.

A. R. 701. The besieged still held out. But the Romans
 Ant. C. having at last undermined the spring, and the fountain consequently having disappeared on a sudden, despair seized the Uxellodunians, who considered that event, not as the effect of human industry, but of divine power. They lost their courage, and surrendered at discretion.

Cæsar treated them with uncommon severity, which his continuator endeavours to excuse and justify, by saying, that Cæsar had given so many proofs of his indulgence and mildness, as to be above any apprehension of being thought inclined to cruelty; but that he found there would be no end of the wars and rebellions of the Gauls, if his usual clemency did not on this occasion give place to severity. He cut off the hands of all who had bore arms in Uxellodunum; leaving them alive, that they might be standing examples of his rigour, and serve to intimidate others. Drapes, frightened probably by this conduct, starved himself to death in prison. Some time after Luterius, who had wandered about, not daring to stay long in any place, but frequently changing his asylum, was delivered up to Cæsar by Epasnactus, an Arvernian. Surus, an Aduan, and the only one of that nation who had continued until then in arms, was made prisoner too about the same time in an engagement of cavalry, in the country of the Treviri, with Labienus, who was victorious.

Of all the Chiefs in the last rebellion, Comius alone remained untaken. Yet the Atrebates had deserted him, and submitted to the conqueror. He had with him only a small body of cavalry, composed of such as had a personal attachment to him, with which he made incursions; and often carried off the convoys that were going to the Roman winter-quarters. Anthony commanded in those parts; and doubtless, thinking it beneath him to pursue a fugitive, sent after him that same Volusenus, who, having been commissioned to kill him, had not been able to do more than to get him wounded by a Centurion. Volusenus,

Iusenus, incited by hatred and rage at having once A. R. 701.
missed his blow, set about the pursuit with great diligence. However, * he suffered himself to be deceived Ant. C.
by the Atrebatic by an extraordinary stratagem, 51.
which is not altogether unpleasant. Comius had some
barks with him, which were to transport him to Great-
Britain, if he was closely pressed. He found himself
obliged to use this resource at a time when the wind
was favourable, but the water so low as to leave his
vessels on dry ground. He was undone, if his enemy
came near the shore. Comius, to prevent it, unfurled
his sails, and, as the wind filled them, Volusenus,
who saw them from afar, thought the Gaul was already
at sea, and turned back.

There were several engagements between them. And in one of the last, as Comius fled the Roman heated by the pursuit ran upon him but ill-accompanied. Comius perceived it; and, turning short upon him, drove his lance through Volusenus's thigh. He could not dispatch him; and his troop was even disordered by the Roman horsemen, who re-assembled about their Commander. The Atrebatic got off, leaving his enemy in such a condition that his life was almost despaired of. After this fight, whether he was satisfied with the revenge he had took, or was apprehensive that he must at last be ruined, as he continually lost some of his men, he sent a deputation to Anthony; offering to submit to whatever should be imposed on him, and to retire wherever he should be ordered: he only begged that so much regard might be shewn to his just fears, as not to have it insisted on that he should appear before any Roman. Anthony, who was naturally humane and generous, excused him, took hostages, and granted him peace. This happened in the beginning of the winter.

* According to Frontinus, author of this fact, it was Cæsar himself that was thus imposed on by Comius. But, beside that it seems improbable, that Cæsar should be deceived by such an artifice; I find nothing in his Commentaries that shews that he ever went in pursuit of that Gaul. For these reasons I have reformed the relation of Frontinus, by substituting Volusenus in the room of Cæsar.

Cæsar,

A. R. 701. Ant. C. 51. Cæsar, after taking Uxellodunum, spent the remainder of the campaign in visiting Aquitaine, where he had never been before in person. All the people of that country received his laws, and gave hostages. Having thus perfected the pacification of Gaul, he went to Narbonne; sent all his legions into winter-quarters, presided at the Assemblies of the Roman province, and rewarded those cities who had distinguished themselves by their zeal and fidelity at the time of the general revolt; he then went among the Belgæ to pass the winter at Nemotocenna. In going there he was informed of Comius's submission.

A. R. 702.

Ant. C.

50.

L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.

P. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

The ninth and last year that Cæsar spent in Gaul was quite pacific. He had two reasons for continuing quiet. He found himself obliged to fix his chief attention on Rome, where the negotiations for and against him were carried on with the utmost warmth. Besides, he had proposed, from the close of the last campaign, to aim at pacifying the Gauls, and calming by gentleness that violent fermentation, which fear rather increases than quiets. He had a mind to accustom them to live peaceably under the government of the Romans, the force of whose arms he had made them feel.

He studied, therefore, not only to avoid whatever might rekindle a fire scarce extinct, but also to suppress all animosities by exciting sentiments of affection and attachment; treating the nations with respect, bestowing rewards on their Chiefs, imposing no new burthens: so that Gaul, wearied and exhausted by long unsuccessful wars, willingly embraced the ease and quiet that she found attendant on her submission. He insisted, however, on the payment of an annual tribute: but the sum was very moderate: and forty *

* One million three hundred and twelve thousand five hundred pounds Sterling.

millions

millions of sesterces may be rather considered as an A. R. 702.
homage paid by Gaul to the superiority of Rome, than Ant. C.
as a burthensome tax. 50.

As soon as the weather permitted, he made a journey into Cisalpine Gaul ; to keep alive and augment the zeal, that the municipal towns and colonies of those cantons had always expressed for him ; as they influenced considerably the affairs at Rome. For his intention was, if he found no difficulty, to sollicit for the Consulship the following year (the seven hundred and third from the foundation of the city) so as to officiate in seven hundred and four. He was received every where with incredible honours. The gates of the cities were adorned with triumphant arches, the ways strewed with flowers ; nothing was spared to decorate all the places he was to pass through. The people met him in crowds ; the rich displayed their magnificence, the poor shewed their affection and zeal. They made sacrifices ; they feasted in the public places and temples. Nothing could come nearer to the pomp of a triumph ; and Cisalpine Gaul seemed to anticipate that which Rome could not avoid decreeing him.

Cæsar, after making a tour through the country, returned expeditiously to his winter-quarters, and assembled his army in the country of the Treviri. He employed the campaign in visiting the various Gaulish nations ; regulating his marches by the wants of his troops, whom he did not suffer to remain too long in a place, that he might keep them in a motion, both healthy to their bodies, and proper to prevent the bad consequences of a total idleness.

When winter came on, he sent them into quarters ; part among the Belgæ, part among the Ædui. These two nations were the most likely to lead the others ; the Belgæ on account of their valour, and the Ædui on account of the authority and credit they enjoyed. Cæsar therefore reckoned that in keeping them quiet, he insured the tranquillity of all Gaul.

S E C T. III.

The Parthians invade Syria, and are repulsed by Cassius. Bibulus, Proconsul of Syria, does nothing considerable against the Parthians. Constancy of Bibulus on the death of his sons. Cicero, Proconsul of Cilicia. Reasons that determined him to accept that employment. His military exploits. He is proclaimed Imperator. That title does not make him vain. He demands, and obtains, the honour of Supplications; against Cato's opinion, whose favour he had in vain solicited. Cicero's justice, mildness, and disinterestedness, in the exercise of his office. Moderation and wisdom of his conduct, with regard to his predecessor. He resolutely refuses an unjust request of Brutus. He rescues from great danger Ariobarzanes, King of Cappadocia. He impatiently desires the end of his employment. Last instance of his disinterestedness and resolution. He sets out on his journey, and receives the news of Hortensius's death. Triumph of Lentulus Spinther. Appius accused by Dolabella, and acquitted. He is created Censor with Piso. He makes himself ridiculous by a severity which ill-agreed with the rest of his conduct.

MOTIONS OF THE PARTHIANS.

BEFORE I enter into the particulars of the violent contests, which at last brought on the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, I shall introduce here some facts that are independent of them.

Dio. I. 40. A.R. 700. The Parthians, after the defeat and death of Crassus, were at first satisfied with retaking all that General had took from them in Mesopotamia. But the next year they passed the Euphrates in their turn, and entered Syria, but with no great army, as they expected to have found that province unprovided and defenceless. In this they were mistaken; for Cassius, who had escaped the general calamity, as I have related,

MOTIONS OF THE PARTHIANS.

lated, having got about him the remains of Crassus's unfortunate host, formed them into a corps, with which he easily repulsed troops fitter for making incursions and plundering, than fighting. This bad success informed the Parthians, that it was not so easy to over-run Syria as they imagined ; yet their loss was not so considerable as to damp their hopes. They A. R. 702 returned therefore the subsequent year in greater numbers, having at their head Pacorus, son of their King Orodæs ; and Osaces, an experienced General, who had been joined with the young Prince as a counsellor and moderator. They flattered themselves with succeeding the easier, as they thought they were sure of the affections of the people ; who, having little reason to be pleased with their new Governors, they supposed would be inclined to throw themselves into the arms of a neighbouring nation, with whom they had long had a commercial intercourse.

The news of the irruption of the Parthians into Cœl. ad Syria very much alarmed the people at Rome. Some Cic. l. 8. immediately talked of sending Pompey or Cæsar ep. 10. against those terrible enemies. Others were for having the Consuls set out in all haste. But Cassius's resolution and prudence dissipated these terrors.

The Parthians had pushed on to Antioch, which they undertook to besiege. Cassius, who was in the town, making a stout defence, as they knew nothing of the art of besieging, they desisted ; and went to another city named Antigonia*. Cassius followed them ; and when, after a fruitless attempt on this town, he found they were preparing to march off, he

* I speak after Dio. Nevertheless Strabo, l. 16. and Diodorus Siculus, l. 20. say, that the city of Antigonia in Syria, founded by Antigonus, subsisted but a very small time, and was destroyed by Seleucus. What increases my suspicions against the exactness of Dio, is, that Cicero, speaking of Cassius's exploits (l. 2. ad Fam. ep. 10. & ad Att. 5. 20.) makes no mention of Antigonia : and his expression inclines me to think that it was before Antioch that the battle was fought in which Osaces was killed. I fancy that it was under Antioch that Cassius beat the Parthians ; but that there were two engagements, the last of which was decisive.

laid

laid an ambuscade for them on their route, into which they fell; slew many of them; and among others their General Osaces. After this loss, Pacorus did not think it safe to continue on the Roman territories. Thus Cassius, who was then very young, and had exercised no other office than the Questorship, had the glory of preserving Syria from the Parthian invasion.

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L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.

C. CLAUDIO MARCELLUS.

I. 6. ad

Att. ep. 8.

Cæs. de B.

Civ. 3. 31.

During these transactions, Bibulus arrived, who had been lately appointed Governor of that province. Bibulus was no warrior; and, during the year of his administration, the Parthians having returned to the charge, this Proconsul of Syria (if we may believe Cicero) never set his foot out of the gates of Antioch, so long as the enemy kept the field. A passage in Cæsar informs us, that he even suffered himself to be besieged by them. Dio reports, that he found the Parthians employment at home, by fomenting the rebellion of a Satrap against their King Orodes. We have but slender accounts of these affairs. But I think it is clear enough, that, during the Proconsulship of Bibulus, nothing extraordinary passed in Syria between the Romans and Parthians.

Val. Max.

4.

Sen. Con-

fol. ad

Marc.

n. 34.

All that history has transmitted to us capable of doing honour to Bibulus, during these times, is the example he gave of constancy, and respect for the laws, in the most afflicting circumstances for a father. His two sons, youths of great expectation, having been killed at Alexandria by some Roman deserters, who had continued in that country from the time of Gabinius's expedition; so sad a piece of news did not interrupt his public functions above one day; and Cleopatra, who jointly with her brother reigned then in Ægypt, having sent the murtherers to him for punishment; Bibulus, instead of satiating his revenge with the blood of these wretches, ordered them to be

be carried to Rome; saying, it belonged to the Senate, A. R. 202.
and not to him, to enquire into, and punish, their
crime. Ant. C. 50.

At the same time that Bibulus was made Governor of Syria, the Proconsulship of Cilicia, which comprehended a considerable part of Asia Minor with the island of Cyprus, fell to Cicero. This was in consequence of the Senatusconsultum passed in Pompey's third Consulship, which ordered that the Consuls and Prætors should not have any Government conferred on them until five years after they were out of office; which made it necessary to go back to the oldest Consular persons, who had never yet any Government.

Cicero had always shunned these employments. He Cic. ad Fam. 2. 3.
says that he would not have accepted this, if he could 15. & ad Att. 5.
possibly have avoided it. It is very probable that the new way of thinking he had fell into, since his banishment, contributed to this determination. He thought he ought to endeavour to aggrandize himself, as much as his enemies had endeavoured to humble him. It is for this reason he desired to be named Augur; and he was actually appointed such in the room of Crassus's son, who fell in the Parthian war. In consequence of these principles he was probably well-pleased to have a province, which gave an opportunity of meriting a triumph. In fact, he was very fond of all military honours, as we shall see hereafter, and particularly of that which crowned the rest.

His conduct in war was not despicable; and many men, that had much greater experience in military affairs, would not have got so much honour. True it is, and it is a proof of his wisdom and judgment, that he took care to supply his own defects by providing able Lieutenant-generals. Those we are best acquainted with are, Q. Cicero his brother, who had had opportunities of forming himself and acquiring skill by making several campaigns under Cæsar; and C. Pontinius, who had triumphed over the Allobroges.

A. R. 702. Cicero's army was not strong. Plutarch makes it
 Ant. C. amount to twelve thousand foot, and two thousand
 50. six hundred horse. This number probably was not compleat, since Cicero complains that he had only the name and appearance of two legions. It is true, indeed, that he was joined by some auxiliary forces. But Lycians, Pisidians, and Galatians, had never the reputation of good soldiers. With this army, however, on some rumours of the Parthians being in motion, Cicero very gallantly took the field, in order to defend his province. And, when the danger was over, he attacked a nation of Banditti, who from the mountain Amanus, which they were in possession of, made inroads into the open country. He took several places from them; and particularly Pindenissus, which cost him a siege of fifty-seven days: and for this success he was proclaimed Imperator by his army.

This was a glorious title, as I have several times observed. But what, in my opinion, conferred on Cicero more true and solid glory, was his not suffering himself to be dazzled by its splendor, and his speaking of it with indifference as a trifle. I love to hear him jest with his friends on his Generalship. “ * I encamped,” says he to Atticus, “ near the city of Issus, in the very place where Alexander formerly encamped; who truly was a better General than either you or me.” To Cælius he writes, + “ I have an army tolerably well provided with auxiliaries; and my name too gives it some credit with those who don't know me. For I am much admired here: and they say to one another, Is this the man who saved Rome; is this he, whom the Senate

* Castra habuimus est ipsa quæ contra Darcium habuerat apud Ifsum Alexander, Imperator haud paulo melior quam aut tu, aut ego. Cic. ad Att. 5. 20.

+ Ad Amanum exercitum duxi, satis probe ornatum auxiliis, & quadam auctoritate, apud eos qui me non norunt, nominis nostri. Multum est enim in his locis, “ Hiccine est ille qui urbem, quem Senatus?” nosti cetera. Cic. ad Fam. 2. 10.

regards as the Saviour of his country?" This surely is not the language of one who confounds himself with his place; and who, because he is appointed General, thinks he therefore possesses the requisite talents.

He did not, however, as I have already observed, neglect the honours usually conferred on those who succeeded in war: and it must be allowed that many obtained them for exploits of no greater importance than his. He demanded, that solemn thanksgivings to the Gods might be ordered, on account of the advantages he had gained over the enemies of the Republic: and as he well knew Cato's severity, and feared his opposition; he wrote him a very long and pressing letter, in which he endeavoured to gain his favour. After having given him a very circumstantial account of his exploits, he adds a consideration seemingly capable of making an impression on Cato.

* "I think I have observed, says he, (for you know how attentively I always hear you) that, when the granting, or refusing, honours, to Generals is in debate; you do not merely weigh their military actions, but also their manners, conduct, and integrity. Now, if you follow this rule with respect to me, you will perceive, that, having but a weak army, I placed my greatest confidence in justice, and temperance, during the danger of a formidable war. By these I have acquired what no army could have acquired. I have recovered the affections of those people, who were alienated from us; from unfaithful, I have made them faithful, allies; and, whereas

* Evidem etiam mihi illud animum advertisse videor, (scis enim quam attente te audire solem) te non tam res gestas, quam mores, instituta, atque vitam, Imperatorum spectare solere, in habendis aut non habendis honoribus. Quod si in mea causa considerabis, reperies me, exercitu imbecillo, contra metum maximi belli firmissimum praesidium habuisse æquitatem & continentiam. His ergo subsidiiis ea sumi consecutus, quæ nullis legionibus consequi potuissent; ut ex alienissimis sociis amicissimos, ex infidelissimis firmissimos redderem; animosque novarum rerum expectatione suspensos ad veteris imperii benevolentiam traducerem. CIC. ad Fam. 15. 4.

*A. R. 702. they were before desirous of a change of government,
Ant. C. 50. I have revived in them the sentiments of love and
attachment to our Empire."*

*Cic. ad
Att. 7. 2.*

This studied, insinuating, solicitation had no effect on the inflexible austerity of Cato; who did not think that Cicero's exploits were deserving of the honour he demanded. To make in some sort amends, he extolled the wisdom, the justice, and mild government, of the Proconsul of Cilicia. Cicero * politely tells him, that he was overjoyed at being praised by one who deserved all praise. But at the bottom he was much dissatisfied, as appears by one of his letters to Atticus, with Cato's behaviour, who did what he was not desired to do, and refused to do what he was desired. The rest of the Senators were not so strict; so that it was ordered by the majority, that thanks should be returned the Gods for the success of the Roman arms under the Command of Cicero: happy presage of a future triumph!

We have seen that Cicero boasted of the wisdom of his administration; and that Cato publickly acknowledged it. This deserves our examination. Cicero acquired some reputation, as a General; but, as a Magistrate, he deserves the highest encomium: and his Proconsulship, viewed in that light, is one of the finest parts of his life.

He did not think it enough, not to follow the bad example then almost universal among the Romans, and to abstain from plundering his province. Far from endeavouring to enrich himself by injustice, he was so perfectly disinterested as not to take the advantage of the privileges established by custom, and allowed him by the laws themselves. He would not permit the cities, or private persons, to put themselves to the least expence on his account; or for the Officers who accompanied, and served under, him. Only one of his Lieutenant-generals transgressed this rule, without however exceeding the bounds prescribed by law,

* *Lætus sum laudari me abs te laudate viro. Ep. 6.*

and

and Cicero resented it. All the others thought it glo-
rious to imitate the disinterestedness of the Proconsul ;
and it was little less than a miracle, that excited at
once the love and admiration of the nations, to see a
Governor of a province go from place to place with
his whole retinue, without being a burthen or expence
to any one. On the contrary, he used to entertain
the principal inhabitants of the cities ; and his table,
though not sumptuous, was decent.

A. R. 702.
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50.

There was a famine in Asia when he crossed it, on
account of a very bad season. This misfortune of
the province turned to the glory of our Proconsul ;
who, without rigorous enquiries, without even using
his authority, merely by his exhortations and obliging
behaviour, prevailed on both the Greeks and Romans,
who had locked up their corn, to open their granaries
and relieve the people.

In the administration of justice, Cicero was a mo-
del of perfection, for equity, clemency, and easiness
of access. He presided at the Assemblies in all the
chief cities of his province ; during which time, every
body was admitted to his presence. There was even
no need of being introduced. He walked in his
house early in the morning, and gave audience to
all who had any business with him, as they came.

He discovered that the Magistrates had often op-
pressed their towns. He sent for all those of the last
ten years ; and, on their confessing their rapines, he
did not stigmatize them by formal judgments, but
persuaded them to refund voluntarily what they had
unjustly seized.

Every body is aware how difficult it is to reconcile
the interests of the people and the tax-farmers. Yet
Cicero found the means to do it. He took such a
well-judged medium, that the Publicans were paid
even what had been many years owing to them, with-
out oppressing or disobliging the province. By these
means he made himself be equally beloved, by those
who levied the taxes, and by those who paid them.

A. R. 702. His equity and goodness appeared also in this ; that
 Ant. C. instead of taking upon himself the judgment of all
 50. things, he permitted the Greeks, in the disputes that arose among themselves, to have the satisfaction of being tried by their countrymen, and by their own laws. And, in those things he judged himself, he shewed such clemency, that we are assured, that, during the whole year of his administration, he had no body whipped, gave no harsh language to any one, and imposed no ignominious punishment.

Cic. ad Att. VI. I. I do not know whether it is possible to add any thing to a conduct so perfect in all respects. Peace and order were so well-established in his province, that he ventures to affirm, that no private house could be better regulated or disciplined. Force and fraud were banished out of it ; which gave him an opportunity of jesting very agreeably with Cælius. For that young Orator, who was then Ædilis Curulis, and in that quality was to exhibit the public games, being desirous of entertaining the People with battles of Panthers ; and having requested of Cicero a number of those animals, the Proconsul answers him thus : “ * I have given orders to get the panthers. But there are but few of them ; and those we have complain much ; they say that they are the only things in my Province for whom snares and ambushes are laid. Therefore they have come to a resolution to leave the country, and retire into Caria.”

He triumphs more seriously in a letter to Atticus ; who had exhorted him, when set out, to maintain the honour of letters, philosophy, and his own virtue. + “ You will be satisfied,” says he, “ with my

* De pantheris,—agitur mandato meo diligenter. Sed mira paucitas est : & eas quæ sunt valde aiunt queri, quod nihil cuiquam insidiarum in mea Provincia, nisi fibi, fiat. Itaque constituisse dicuntur in Cariam ex nostra provincia decadere. Cic. ad Fam. Q. II.

+ Moriar, si quidquam fieri potest elegantius. Nec jam ego hanc continentiam appello, quæ virtus voluptati resistere videtur. Ego in vita mea nunquam voluptate tanta sum affectus, quanta afficiar hac integritate. Nec me tam fama, quæ summa est, quam res ipsa delec-

conduct. May I die, if things do not go on very well. However, I will not boast of having sacrificed my pleasure to my duty. For I find in faithfully fulfilling my duty the greatest pleasure I ever yet felt. Nor is it so much glory that delights me, though that too much delights me, as the practice of Virtue in itself. In a word; the trouble I am at in this employment is not lost. For I did not know myself before, nor of what I was capable." Such was the candour with which Cicero opened his heart to his friend; and triumphed in a species of glory that was wise, humane, sweet, and doubtless preferable to that acquired by Cæsar in the conquest of all Gaul.

He spoke what he thought, when he declared to Atticus, that virtue seemed to him to be her own reward. For he refused all vain-glorious acknowledgments; statues, temples, triumphal cars. The cities, who enjoyed through him such happiness and tranquillity, were forced to be content with only making decrees in his honour. He forbade every thing that might shock his modesty, and be expensive to them.

This conduct of Cicero charmed the province so much the more, as his predecessor had behaved very differently. He was Appius, brother to Clodius, Cicero's enemy, who was Consul in six hundred and ninety-eight; and after the expiration of his Consulship had replaced in Cilicia Lentulus Spinther, principal author with Milo and Pompey of Cicero's recall. Appius, though not so wicked as his brother, because less audacious, respected no more than he the laws of honour and honesty. He made his province unhappy: and Cicero makes a frightful picture of the condition he found it in. "I hear of nothing, says he to Atticus, but capitations, too heavy to be borne; of revenues of cities mortgaged and alien-

tat. Quid quæris? Fuit tanti: me ipse non noram, nec sciebam quid in hoc genere facere possem. Cic. ad Att. V. 20. . . .

A. R. 70^a. nated ; I meet every where with tears and lamentations ; * with monstrous proceedings befitting a brute more than a man. The people are so oppressed that they are weary of their lives." Those who were in authority under Appius had followed his example, as it always happens. The Governor and his Subalterns had in concert exhausted and distressed the province, by all sorts of extortions and rapines, outrages and violences. Cicero, in doing these unhappy people service, was obliged to act with caution as to Appius. He was a reconciled enemy ; and consequently there was reason to fear, that, if any deference he might justly pretend to was omitted, the reconciliation would on Cicero's side be thought insincere. Besides, he had a daughter married to Pompey's eldest son ; and another married to Brutus ; affinities which Cicero equally loved and respected. These reasons did not prevent his easing the subjects of the Empire, who had been ill-used by his predecessor : but he avoided all unnecessary affronts. He omitted nothing that the good of the people and his own glory required ; and on the other hand he behaved to Appius with all possible decency and politeness.

He could not, however, prevent some complaints and, at first setting out, Appius took it very ill that Cicero, when he entered into the province, did not come to meet him. As he was proud of his family, he even expressed himself on this occasion in terms offensive enough. " How, said he, Appius went " to meet Lentulus ;" (that is, the Lentulus Spinther we just now mentioned, a man of great family;) " Lentulus went to meet Appius ; and Cicero has " not shewn that respect to Appius ?"

We must see what Cicero says to this reproach. He begins by justifying himself as to the fact ; and proves that he had acted according to rule ; and that it was

* Monstra quædam, non hominis, sed feræ nescio cuius immanis.
Cic. ad Att. V. 16.

not his fault, if that which he knew was his predecessor's due was omitted. But to the haughty, contemptuous, speech of Appius he opposes a proper and noble spirit. * " What, says he, do you mind these trifles? you, who are a man of great prudence, of uncommon learning, and of consummate knowledge of the world; to which I may add, and of great politeness; which the most austere philosophers account a virtue! Do you imagine that I have more regard for the names of Appius or Lentulus, than for the glory of Virtue? Even before I had attained what is reckoned the height of human grandeur, I was never dazzled by your great names; I only thought that those from whom you inherited them were great men. But now that I have obtained and exercised the first offices of the Commonwealth, in a manner that has left me nothing to wish either as to fortune or reputation; if I think not myself superior to you or Lentulus, I must own I flatter myself that I am your equal."

Appius renewed his complaints with more bitterness, when he found that Cicero reformed his abuses, and cancelled many of his ordinances. Cicero paid no more regard to them than they deserved. † He compares Appius's language to that of a physician,

* Quæsiō etiamane tu has ineptias? homo (mea sententia) summa prudentia, multa etiam doctrina, plurimo rerum usu, addo urbanitate, quæ est virtus, ut Stoici rectissime putant! Ullam Appietatem aut Lentulitatem valere apud me plus, quam ornamenta Virtutis, existimas! Quum ea consecutus nondum eram, quæ sunt hominum opinionibus amplissima, tamen ista vestra nomina nunquam sum admiratus: viros esse, qui ea vobis reliquissent, magnos arbitrabar. Postea vero quam ita & cepi & gessi maxima insperia, ut mihi nihil neque ad gloriam, neque ad honorem acquirendum * putarem; superiorem quidem nunquam, sed parem vobis me speravi esse factum. CIC. ad Fam. III. 7.

† Ut si medicus, quum ægrotus alii medico traditus sit, irasci velit ei medico qui sibi successerit, si, quæ ipse in curando constituerit, mutet ille: sic Appius, quum ἐξ αὐτούς provinciam curarit, sanguinem miserit, quidquid potuit detraxerit, mihi tradiderit enectam προσανθυφόμετη, eam a me non libenter videt. CIC. ad Att. VI. 1.

* I had rather read *reliquum* or *reliqui*: unless *requirendum* may be thought preferable.

A. R. 702. who, when his patient has got into other hands, is
 Ant. C.
 50. angry at the alteration of the prescriptions. He has," says he, "bled the province almost to death; and now he is offended at my using a mild regimen, in order to restore it to its pristine vigour." Thus Cicero expressed himself in a letter to Atticus. But as in all public occurrences he was very tender of his predecessor's reputation, and always made honourable mention of him; Appius, though touched to the quick, had patience; and the correspondence of friendship, or at least of civility, between them was not interrupted.

Cicero's zeal for the people committed to his care suffered another attack from another sort of man, from whom one should little expect it, I mean Brutus. I have I believe already observed that the Romans, even the very best of them, used to make great advantage of their money, and get extravagant interest for it. Brutus did as the rest; and had some concerns of this sort with two merchants, Scaptius and Matinius, who had lent considerable sums to the Salaminians in Cyprus. That island was, as I have said, dependent on Cicero's Government. When therefore he set out for his province, Brutus recommended these two merchants to him, as persons of his acquaintance; without telling him that his interest had any connexion with theirs. Cicero had presently occasion to know that Scaptius was unworthy of his protection. For, when he came to Ephesus, he was waited on by a deputation from the Salaminians, who implored his justice against that merchant; whose avarice and violence was such, that he wanted to extort from them enormous usury; and, to force them to it, had obtained from Appius some troops, with whom he came to Salamis, and blocked up their Senate so long, that five Senators were starved to death. Cicero immediately sent orders to those troops to quit the island.

When he was in the province, Scaptius presented himself to him. The Proconsul, not forgetting Brutus's

tus's recommendation, enquired into the affair, and regulated it in a manner that ought to have satisfied the least tractable usurer. For he ordered interest to be paid Scaptius for the principal at the rate of twelve per Cent. (that was the rate of interest among the Romans) and also the interest of the arrears. The Salaminians were satisfied; and even complimented Cicero, telling him, "we shall discharge our debts with your money: for we shall employ for that purpose the sums we used to present your predecessors with." But Scaptius had the insolence to demand, that interest should be allowed him at the rate of forty-eight per Cent. Cicero rejected this impudent demand; and expected the thanks of Brutus for his behaviour in this affair. But on the contrary Brutus wrote to him in a haughty, harsh, manner; he then discovered to him that he was himself concerned in the loan to the Salaminians; and he engaged Atticus to desire Cicero to give Scaptius fifty horsemen, that he might go and compel his debtors to pay him on his own terms.

Nothing can be finer than Cicero's answer to his friend on this subject. * "What," says he, "Atticus, you who are the panegyrist of the integrity and delicacy of my conduct, have you dared to mention such a thing; and to propose my giving horsemen to Scaptius to get in his debts with? You sometimes write, that you are sorry you are not here with me. If you was with me, and I should be inclined to do such a thing, would you suffer it? I ask but for fifty horsemen, say you. And do not you remember, that Spartacus had not so many men

* Ain? tandem, Attice, laudator integratæ & elegantia nostræ, "ausus es hoc ex ore tuo?" inquit Ennius: ut equites Scapto ad co-gendam pecuniam darem, me rogare? An tu, si mecum essem, qui scribis morderi te interdum, quod non simul sis, paterere me id facere, si vellem? Non amplius, inquis, quinquaginta cum Spartaco minus multi primo fuerunt. Quid tandem isti mali in tam tenera insula non fecissent!—Sed quid jam opus equitatu? Solvunt enim Salaminii. Nisi forte id volumus armis efficere, ut foenus quaternis centesimis du-cant.—Nimis, nimis inquam, in isto Brutum amasti, dulcissime At-tice; nos vereor ne parum. Cic. ad Att. VI. 2.

with

A.R. 50.
Apt. C.
50.

with him at first? What mischief might not fifty horsemen do in an island whose inhabitants are so effeminate! But what need is there of horsemen at all? The Salaminians are ready to pay their creditor. Unless we ought to employ force to extort interest at forty-eight per Cent. My dear Atticus, you have in this affair listened too much to your friendship for Brutus; and not enough to that you profess for me." What resolution, and what sweetness! Such a remonstrance admitted of no reply. Nor indeed does it appear that Atticus any more pressed his request. As to Brutus, it cost not Cicero much to resist his importunities; they were haughty and harsh, and consequently more likely to irritate, than seduce.

Every body that came near Cicero participated of his goodness and justice. Ariobarzanes King of Cappadocia, a poor weak Prince, had been recommended to his care by the Senate. Cicero came into Cappadocia, at a time when a conspiracy to dethrone him was on the point of breaking out. Many of his most loyal subjects were informed of it; but durst not discover it, lest they should be ruined by the power of the conspirators. When they saw among them a Roman Proconsul well-affected to the King, and well-accompanied by troops, their fear vanished; and they discovered all they knew. The secret thus divulged, Ariobarzanes could easily guard against the attempts of his enemies. Cicero encouraged those who were in his interest to defend him zealously; and the conspirators had no hopes to gain the Proconsul by presents, as he even would not allow them access to him. Thus, by his wisdom and the authority of his name alone, he saved the life and crown of the King of Cappadocia.

As Cicero did not make the power of Proconsul serviceable either to ambition, or avarice; he had not the same reason, as the generality of Governors of provinces, to desire its continuance. On the contrary, he dreaded nothing so much, as being obliged
to

A. R. 1032
Ant. Cr.
59.

to keep his place longer than a year. This he acquainted all his friends with, when he set out for his Government; and, in all the letters he wrote them from thence, he renewed his instances, and begged them, at all events, to prevent any prolongation. His reasons for this are expressed very naturally in one of his epistles to Atticus. “The very first day, says he, I set foot in my province, I was sufficiently weary of my employment. This is not a theatre to display my talents on. I administer justice at Laodicea, and A. Plotius at Rome: what a contrast! my army is very weak.——* In a word, this is not the life I like. I regret public life, the forum, the capitol, my house, the converse of my friends: these are what I like.” He did himself justice. His eloquence, his extensive knowledge, his elevated views as to government, his pacific disposition; all these things pointed out his proper place to be at the head of the Senate, not of an army; his merit was conspicuous in the seat of empire, but buried in a province.

His impatience to be eased of his burthen increased, as the time of his deliverance approached. Two new motives were added to the old ones. He had acquired so much glory by his wife administration, that he thought he could not increase it; and he apprehended that the war with the Parthians would become serious, and find him more employment than he desired.

His wishes had their accomplishment. His Command was not prolonged; and, though the troubles of the Commonwealth (which were now at the crisis of the most violent contests between Pompey and Cæsar) did not afford leisure enough to provide him a successor; yet he prepared to depart, recommending to his Quæstor the care of the province.

He maintained to the last the glory of a wise œconomy, and perfect disinterestedness. For finding, that, out of the allowance made him by the State for

* Denique hæc non desidero; lucem, totum, urbem, domum, vos desidero. Cic. ad. Att. v. 15.

A.R. 702. the year's expence, he had saved a considerable sum ;
 Ant. C. 50. he would not keep it : but shared it between his
 Quæstor, whom he left in his place, and the public
 treasury, to which he returned * a million of sesterces.
 Upon this occasion the generosity of his partizans
 failed. They expected to have had all the money
 distributed among them ; and complained aloud, when
 they found themselves disappointed. + “ The prac-
 tice of virtue, says Cicero on this subject, is dif-
 ficult ; and when it comes not from the heart, but
 is only affected, it never fails to betray itself at
 last.” Cicero had no regard for their complaints.
 He thought, that, after having husbanded the finances
 of the Phrygians and Cilicians, it would ill-become
 him to neglect those of the Roman people. Besides,
 he had more concern for his own glory, than the
 avarice of his Officers. However, he always behaved
 well to them, and gave them every mark of considera-
 tion and esteem.

Cic. ad Att. 6. 6. He left his province satisfied with his personal situa-
 tion ; but greatly uneasy on account of the divisions
 in the Republic, and of the civil war with which it was
 threatened. In the island of Rhodes he heard of Horten-
 sius's death, and was extremely affected by it. The
 small differences, that had formerly somewhat abated
 their friendship, by time were expunged ; and in a
 letter to Atticus, before Hortensius's death, he ex-
 pressly says, that he had determined to live for the fu-
 ture in the strictest union with him. Nothing can be
 more pathetic than the grief he expresses for the loss of
 that noble friend in the preface to his book of Illus-
 trious Orators, composed three years after. But the
 calamities, which the Republic suffered in that inter-
 val, in which Cicero himself had so large a share,
 make him envy the lot of a man, † who, after having

* Seven thousand eight hundred and twelve pounds ten shillings.

+ Quam non est facilis virtus ! quam vero difficilis ejus diuturna
 simulatio ! Cic. ad Att. vii. 1.

† Perpetua quadam felicitate usus ille cessit è vita suo magis, quam
 suorum civium tempore ; & tum occidit, quum lugere facilius Rem-
 enjoyed

enjoyed an uninterrupted felicity, died luckily for ^{A. R. 702.}
himself, though unluckily for his fellow-citizens ; as
^{Ant. C.}
he left the world at a time, which, had he survived,
he might have lamented over his Country, but could
not have assisted her : and who had lived just as long
as it was possible to live in Rome with honour and
quiet. Cicero arrived at Brundisium in December ;
that is, a little before the war between Cæsar and
Pompey broke out. He returned in hopes of a tri-
umph ; and probably would have obtained it, had not
the troubles of the Republic prevented it, and turned
the thoughts of the Romans on more important sub-
jects. Lentulus Spinther, whose actions in Cilicia
must have been very inconsiderable, since history is
quite silent about them, had nevertheless triumphed
in Cicero's absence. Ap. Claudius also made interest
for the same honour ; and, if he missed of it, it was
not because he was thought undeserving of it, but on
account of the accusation brought against him by
Dolobella.

Dolobella was a young Gentleman of illustrious
birth, being a Patrician of the Cornelian family. He
had spirit, industry, and parts : but the love of plea-
sure had been predominant in him, as it too often hap-
pens, in his youth ; and ambition afterwards made
him commit many faults, and at last fall its victim.
It is not known whether he had any other motive for
accusing Appius, than that of getting a name, as the
custom then was, and of which we have already given
several instances. This event involved Cicero in new
difficulties with respect to Appius. At the time he
was endeavouring, by all methods, to convince him
of his friendship for him, he on a sudden became the
father-in-law of his accuser. Tullia had been some
time separated from her second husband Furius Cras-
sipes. Dolobella courted her at the very same time
that he entered upon the accusation of Appius ; and,

publicam posset, si viveret, quam juvare : vixitque tamdiu, quam
licuit in civitate beateque vivere. Cic. Bruto, n. 4.

^{Anno R. 70. Auct. C. 50.} as the party was agreeable to Terentia, she concluded the affair without waiting for her husband's consent. Cicero was not displeased with the match in itself, though he had himself other views, and received proposals from Ti. Nero, who afterwards married Livia, and was father of the Emperor Tiberius. But he found himself embarrassed as to Appius, with whom he was willing to keep a good understanding. He wrote him letters of excuse; he even interested himself for him in the process carrying on against him; and so far succeeded as to prevent a rupture. What doubtless made Appius more tractable, was his being honourably acquitted.

As soon as he was accused, he gave up his claim to the triumph, and came into the city to stand trial. He was accused, whether justly or unjustly I know not, of high-treason. His innocence, or Pompey's influence, saved him. After that he was accused of corruption, and acquitted likewise. So that he was not disqualified from standing for Censor; and he was appointed such jointly with L. Piso, Cæsar's father-in-law.

^{Dio. l. 40.} These two Censors, the last the Commonwealth saw, were by no means proper persons to do honour to the expiring Censorship. One of them was a lazy Epicurean, who had been forced as it were to accept the office. Every thing to him was indifferent but his beloved ease and quiet, which he was not inclined to disturb by making enemies by a proper severity. Besides, as he was Cæsar's father-in-law, he endeavoured to gain him creatures and friends by his indulgence.

As to Appius, we have painted him after Cicero in colours very unbecoming a Reformer. He acted however with severity, and obliged his Colleague to join with him in stigmatizing many Roman Knights and Senators; in doing of which, contrary to his intention, he rendered service to Cæsar, whom he hated: for it was making him so many partizans.

In the brands he inflicted he followed various views. A.R.you
Full of the privileges of the Nobility, like his an- Ante C.
cestors, who were all proud and haughty, he thought
it his duty to remove out of the Senate all those who
were sons of freedmen. Other Senators he punished
for their bad lives. It was for the last reason, that
Sallust, the historian, was degraded from the rank of
Senator. He indeed deserved it on account of his
open debauchery, which he was not ashamed to avow
in full Senate, using only this scandalous excuse, that
he did not intrigue with women of condition, but
with those of the lowest order. Ateius, that Tribune
of the People who vented some imprecations on
Crassus, at his setting out from Rome on the Parthian
expedition, was disgraced by Appius, as having
drawn on the Republic one of the greatest calamities
she ever experienced. This surely was mistaking the
thing. Ateius had been guilty of imprudence and
passion; but was very innocent of Crassus's defeat.
Superstition dictated this judgment to Appius. Nar-
row-minded as he was, he gave into all such idle fan-
cies; though the age he lived in had for the most part
got the better of them. He even valued himself for
his skill in the art of augury, which he had made his
particular study; and he retained this weakness to the
last moments of his life, as Lucan informs us. This ^{Luc. l. 5.}
Censor attacked too, but without success, Curio, then
Tribune of the People. I shall speak of that fact in
another place.

All these acts of severity very ill became him. But
nothing made him more ridiculous, than his attempt
to suppress luxury, into which he gave himself greatly.
Let us hear the witty Cælius banter on this subject
with Cicero. * "Do you know, says he to him,
that our Censor Appius does wonders here? His

* Scis Appium Censorem hic ostenta facere? de signis & tabulis, de
agri modo, de ære alieno, acerrime agere? Persuasum est ei Censuram
lomentum aut nitrum esse. Errare mihi videtur. Dum sordes eluere
vult, venas sibi omnes & viscera aperit. Curre, per deos atque ho-
mines, & quamprimum hæc risum veni.—Appium de tabulis & sig-
nis agere. Cœl, ad Cic. ep. 14.

EMILIUS, CLAUDIUS, Consuls.

Mr. C.
so. *His* zeal against statues and pictures, against immoderate purchases and debts, deserves the highest admiration. He imagines the Censorship to be fullers-earth for every thing. But he is mistaken. For, by these extravagant endeavours to wash out his stains, he slays and kills himself. Come quickly, in the name of Gods and men, come and laugh with us at this sight: come and see Appius reform the luxury of pictures and statues."

The advantages accruing to the Republic from this last Censorship were, as we perceive, very slender. It rather served to inflame the distempers of the State; which the civil war between Pompey and Cæsar entirely subverted. This is the great event that I am now going to lay before my readers.—It was preceded by sharp contests, which employed the Senate two years; by an account of which I must begin.



END of the EIGHTH VOLUME.